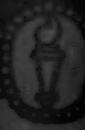


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The Social Sciences Face the Atomic Age*

W. E. GETTYS

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Repeatedly one hears our present world described as "confused," "chaotic," "disturbed," "Hell-bent for destruction," "doomed." In many ways these adjectives seem justifiable. Certainly the outlook is not very bright, but it probably is not so hopeless as the prophets of doom and our own present sense of frustration and insecurity would have us believe. Perhaps, as social scientists, we may have the feeling that we should keep ourselves free from alarm and aloof from the cares and anxieties of a troubled world, and look with detached and objective vision from some Olympian height upon the shifting scene of mankind's perplexity and confusion. On the contrary, we should not, and can not, retreat into the ivory tower and expect the world to move on without us. There is a challenge in the present and in the future that cannot be ignored.

Unhappily for us and for our science, we do not seem to be as well prepared as we should be to take advantage of our opportunity and to grapple with the problems thrust upon us by the new age. There may be some comfort, small though it be, in the reflection that in this condition of unpreparedness the social scientists are not alone. Religion, business and industry, statecraft and international diplomacy seem equally unready to cope with the situation. Even the physical scientists, who by their researches discovered ways and means of releasing atomic energy, find themselves quite as unable to determine the possible uses to

*Presidential address delivered at meeting of Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, 4 April, 1947.

which such energies will be put, whether for the pursuits of peace or the mass destructiveness of war.

As we stand on the threshold of the new atomic age, many questions confront us. For my present purpose, I propose to reduce all such questions to one, namely, Are we in the social sciences ready for the tasks of research and teaching that may be reasonably expected of us in the years immediately ahead? What answer or answers can be given to the question will depend on a number of factors resident in the conditions making up the total situation in which the social sciences find themselves today. Let us examine some of these conditions before we undertake to give an answer.

Although the social sciences were given impetus and considerable tangible support after the first World War, their stock has seemed to dwindle in recent years to a low status in the estimation of the "powers that be" in our universities and the foundations, an estimation that seems to be shared by a large portion of the public at large. During the twenties and thirties, the social sciences prospered as never before at the hands of such benefactors as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial, the Russell Sage Foundation, and numerous other similar well-financed organizations. The Social Science Research Council was chartered under the laws of Illinois on December 27, 1924, and, deriving its funds from some of the above mentioned foundations, launched a program of stimulating, fostering, and financing research on an ambitious scale. Universities and state legislatures began to match funds and to otherwise contribute moral and financial support to research in the social sciences, and a score or more of universities established bureaus or institutes of research in these fields. The stock of the social sciences went up accordingly and departments of instruction in them increased in number and favor throughout the country. Students, ever eager to learn about their social world, flocked to the classrooms of the social scientists in increasing numbers, and publishing companies expanded their publication lists of literary and scientific offerings on economic, historical, political, psychological and sociological subjects. A veritable boom in the social sciences was under way. But, before the depression of the thirties was well

advanced, a slump in support for research began to be manifest and, by 1940, most of the funds for research were being withheld or withdrawn. Universities, in meeting the depression, showed rather generally that research was scarcely evaluated as a primary function. The year 1940 was the date set by the Rockefeller Foundation as the year for discontinuing most of their support to university social science research organizations and, in the case of state universities particularly, legislatures were beginning to warm up to the idea of agricultural, engineering, and natural science research, but were exceedingly reluctant to furnish funds for research in the social sciences. The experience of one of our large Southwestern universities illustrates the point. The legislature was approached to appropriate funds for a miscellaneous lot of research programs, including, among others, industrial engineering, business, municipal government, carbon black and other natural gas products, certain branches of medicine, and the social sciences. The result: the social science phases were the only ones not given appropriations. During the war years the same general attitude — one of distrust, if not outright antagonism — prevailed.

To what factors in our present situation can we look to find the explanation for this very real and serious state of affairs as they affect research and teaching in our several fields of specialization? It may be profitable to outline what seem to me to be some of the conditions holding back the social sciences and hindering them from realizing their potentialities, and to a considerable extent preventing us, as social scientists, from realizing what seem to us to be our legitimate claims to recognition and support as compared with our fellow workers in other fields of investigation and education. As I see it, the conditions lie both without and within the area of our disciplines. Speaking of those lying mainly outside the social sciences, I shall mention:

First, though perhaps not most important, is what we may call "the cult of common sense." This is the very prevalent feeling which makes of every man a kind of amateur social scientist. It does not seem to be an exaggeration to say that the average adult person today thinks he knows the answers to the manifold and

complex problems with which the social scientists have been grappling for many years. What answers he cannot supply from his own casual and necessarily rather superficial observations are furnished him by a polyglot collection of pseudo-scientists, demagogues, publicists, and outright charlatans who, wittingly and unwittingly, mislead and misrepresent, befuddle and befoul the suggestible and credulous minds of an exceedingly large lay public. Ready at hand for their task are the most modern means of communication. It is little wonder, then, that the socially illiterate populace has come to regard our sciences and us as superfluous, if not downright dangerous.

A second condition that may be mentioned lies, I think, in what has been referred to as "the climate of opinion" of our time. Ours is an essentially materialistic culture and, being so, it places great emphasis on the values achieved and the attitudes developed by the advances made in the natural and physical sciences and in their applications in the new technology. Correlatively, it is more or less scornful of the social sciences. As a result, large sums for research are poured into the investigations, inventions, and discoveries of the natural and physical sciences, while little more than a dribble finds its way into social science research. The efforts to enhance knowledge in the fields of human relations are of less value to our materialistic culture than is the construction of bigger and bigger cyclotrons and more powerful electro-magnetic microscopes, the explorations of Antarctica, and the perfection of newer and more powerful engines of destruction.

A third basis for opposition to social science research and to its findings is to be found in the belief of certain powerful interest groups and their representatives that social science is inimical to them and to their intrenched position. By virtue of their very nature, the social sciences have as their areas of investigation and instruction those regions of political, economic, and social life and activity which the groups mentioned feel to be their special prerogatives, which they are determined to preserve uncontaminated and undisturbed by what they regard as the unsound and dangerous doctrines of much of social science. This attitude they undertake to rationalize to themselves and to others by the

commonly specious, generally dishonest, and frequently malicious charges that the social sciences are "radical," "socialistic," and "contrary to our traditional way of life," and, when they wish to be particularly damning, they impute to our sciences the scare-word, "communistic." Since these interest groups exercise a disproportionate measure of influence in our society and because their representatives sit in legislatures and on governing boards of our educational institutions, the disposition of funds for research and instruction is largely under their control. That being the case, support to the social sciences suffers from discrimination and the social scientists themselves are liable to become the targets of censorship and other penalties for stating the truth as they see it.

Let us turn now from the external factors that militate against our science and give some attention to conditions lying within the social sciences — conditions that are attributable chiefly to us as social scientists. It may help us to understand our present difficulties if we will frankly face up to some of our own shortcomings and limitations.

One of the hampering factors inherent in the tradition of our disciplines is the continuance of our specialized, compartmentalized, departmentalized functions. Historically speaking, this division of labor undoubtedly was useful and inevitable when our sciences were beginning and it was no doubt contributory to their early growth. Such differentiation served as a sort of protective tariff, but, as things have changed, the perpetuation of our divisions has tended to establish them as closed systems, with vested interests, unrealistic attitudes, and narrow mindedness. Fortunately, there have been some among us, representing all the major fields, who have become aware of the essential artificiality and arbitrariness of the arrangement and have proceeded to bring about a considerable measure of cross-fertilization and cooperation among the disciplines. At Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Chicago, and elsewhere, integrated courses of study have been inaugurated and in some places new departments have been established that combine much or all of two or more of the interrelated sciences into one unified program of research and instruction. Many efforts toward co-

operative research have been made, not always with satisfactory results. On this point, Robert Lynd wrote some sixteen years ago: "There is little doubt that some of the enthusiastic advocates of 'cooperative research' have in many cases sold it 'short,' promising more than they could deliver But here, as elsewhere, the advocates of cooperative research have had to learn that administrative machinery and bright organizational devices tend to be not only barren but actual impediments to science unless they follow, rather than drag in their wake, the penetrating concern of the individual scientist." Since that statement was made, however, considerable progress has been made by way of cooperation in research and this trend is likely to continue as problems requiring such treatment are more generally recognized. This gradual hurdling of the barriers that separated us for so long should add to the enrichment of our research and teaching and should strengthen our position against those who may wish to keep us divided.

Another condition that hinders us and weakens our position is to be found in incompatible and often contradictory theoretical principles and inaccurate and inconsistent terminologies that not only separate the social sciences from one another, but that contribute to considerable misunderstanding and disharmony within each one of the social sciences. It is too much to expect complete agreement and uniformity within or between the several disciplines, and such would scarcely be desirable anyway. Stimulation and growth depend upon a certain amount of divergence, individual initiative, and originality, but these valuable characteristics should not be allowed to make for confusion and distrust. Schools of thought have grown up and flourished in all of the social sciences and some of them have contributed to their enrichment, some have disappeared, and some have become esoteric and cultish and of little or no value. What most of the social sciences need most of all, perhaps, is a further clarification of their fundamental concepts, a refinement of meanings in their terminologies, and a more general acceptance of them on the part of the men and women working in these fields. Until we learn each other's language so that we can understand each other better, how can

we hope to join effectively in joint undertakings and how do we expect to be understood by the publics we wish to reach and influence?

Related to what has just been said is that deficiency which is to be found in the incomplete and inadequate methodologies of most, if not all, of the social science disciplines. There will be those among you who will be inclined to challenge the idea suggested here, namely, that our methods are inadequate to our tasks. I believe it is true of the social sciences that, from their beginnings and until the present time, they have been handicapped by two false traditions, one that of physical and/or physiological materialism, and the other, that of juristic formalism. These have colored theories and bedeviled the methodologies of the sciences of society for many years. The former doctrine is the logical outcome of an uncritical aping of the physical and biological sciences, particularly some of their earlier developments and hypotheses, and the latter type of prejudice, that of juristic formalism, is the result of an extreme intellectualism which had its home especially in Germany, where it was represented by Hegel, Wundt, and others. Time does not permit more than the mere mention of these antecedents to social science theory and methodology and the too long dependence of the latter upon them. Incident to and partly as a consequence of this aping of the older sciences is the feeling of inferiority to them on the part of a great many social scientists. For a long time these apologists have been offering alibis and rationalizations for what is termed "the backwardness" of the social sciences when compared with the physical and natural sciences. In recent years, however, this tendency has lessened perceptibly and more and more social scientists are inclining to the view that the analogies held to in the past were erroneous and misleading and that, if the social sciences are ever to achieve their purpose, social facts must be viewed as unique facts, must be treated as dynamic facts, and are not to be regarded as mere intellectual abstractions. The theories of social science must be formulated in terms of these

unique, dynamic and real data, and the methods of social science must be suited to the requirements of these data.

This leads me to make a further observation on research in the social sciences. Whether the methods of research in these sciences are adequate or inadequate to the needs of the data and to the purposes to be served may be regarded as a moot question, but I venture this next assertion for what it may be worth and with the statement that it is based on no more than a cursory study of the results of research in fields other than the one in which I work all the time—sociology. It is my impression, however, that most of the research being done by too many of the social scientists today may be characterized as so much "busy work." Certainly, very little of it is basic research, as that is thought of in the other sciences. I realize that I am treading on dangerous ground here and that the limits of my paper do not allow for extended treatment of this controversial subject. Stated in the briefest terms, what I want to say is that, in my estimation, based on the results I see every day in the form of articles in the journals, bulletins, and books, most of the "research" being done is of questionable importance and much of it represents a waste of time, effort, and money, and is scarcely worth the paper it is printed on. A lot of it is hack work, turned out, perhaps, to make an impression on administrators and to add to the list of the authors' publications. No more than a very little of it makes any contribution to the testing of basic hypotheses and to the formulation of significant generalizations, which generalizations in turn may become the basis for scientific theories of phenomena regarding which data are, as yet, wanting. Some of this so-called research may be excused on the ground that it is of the "action" or "service" type and for this reason to be differentiated from "theoretical" or "pure" research. Unquestionably, there is a place for both kinds of research, and, actually, the divorcement of "practical" or "applied" research from theory is not as marked as might seem to be indicated by what has just been said. There is no reason, of course, why practical or applied research should not yield as significant a set of contributions to science as theoretical or pure research if the premises upon which it proceeds and the ends toward which it is directed

are varied and inclusive enough to exhaust the range of questions the pure scientist would posit at the start of his investigation. However, there is seldom a very clear and direct connection between social theory and social research. Unfortunately, perhaps, social science research does not typically start out by testing a problem in theory. In fact, the theory is often a mere afterthought. My criticism is directed specifically toward the spurious kind of "research" which leads nowhere; it adds nothing to our scientific knowledge and it leads to no practical results. Another fault in our sciences may be attributable to the all-too-prevalent tendency of our people to duplicate, usually on a local basis, research already done by others in other localities and on the same problem, without anyone's taking the trouble to synthesize the results and derive therefrom general principles that might have some importance in social theory, and, perhaps, in social action.

Speaking of social action leads me to raise a question about the role of the social scientist in the field of action. Many verbal battles have raged over this very question and it is one that cannot be and probably should not be answered categorically. It does seem to me, however, that altogether too many of our fellows in the social sciences are too much social politicians and too little scientists. They are more interested in advancing "causes" than they are in developing and perfecting their science. In a great many cases, "research" and teaching are colored by normative value judgments and *a priori* preconceptions and affected by reformist ideas. This is not to be interpreted as a blanket indictment of social scientists who like to feel that they and their sciences may have some effect in improving the lot of mankind and in developing sound bases for prediction and control. We are no more nor less than human in that respect. However, we do need to make some differentiation between our roles as citizens and our functions as scientists. Since most of us are teachers, we have a primary responsibility to our students to teach the data and the points of view of our respective sciences without rancor, bias, or prejudice. To the public outside the classrooms we need also to make the principles of our sciences known in language which can be understood by those unfamiliar with our more technical terminologies. In this latter respect,

we have been woefully negligent, thus leaving the way open to others to do the job in Paul de Kruif fashion. If the public does not know us better and comprehend what we are trying to say, it may be principally our fault.

If there is truth—even a modicum of truth—in these strictures against ourselves and our theories and methods, as well as against outside groups and publics that fail to accept our data and our principles with the cordiality we might hope for, then we may find in them at least partial explanation for a negative answer to the question of our readiness to meet the challenge of the post-war world. Of course, it would be a gross exaggeration to say or to imply that we, as social scientists, are wholly devoid of principles for the guidance of the world out of the valley of indecision in which it now is. On the contrary, we actually do know more than we are given credit for knowing, and we do have available a body of knowledge, which is not likely to be much used in the present circumstances. It is my contention, however, that we do not know all we need to know and that when we spend our time and effort and what little money is made possible for research in inconsequential studies of this or that, when we continue to argue among ourselves and with others over trifles and fail to center our attention on major issues, when we neglect to take advantage of every opportunity afforded to acquaint our students and the public at large with the fundamental principles of our sciences in language which can be understood, and when we seek to excuse our shortcomings by insisting that our task is so much harder and more complicated than that of the other sciences, then we are, like Nero, guilty of fiddling while the world slips swiftly and surely toward the conditions making for the conflagration of war.

The great—indeed, the supreme—problem of this age is not the atom, nor is it chiefly that of control of the atom and the use of nuclear energy. That is only a relatively small part of the problem. The supreme problem of this age is the development of enlightened attitudes toward the all-important matter of human relationships. It is to the solution of this problem that those who work in the social sciences must direct their attention promptly,

diligently, and continuously, and with every resource at their command.

This new era in human history, representing as it no doubt will the supreme achievements of science, will, at the same time, furnish the mightiest test of science—natural, physical, and social. Will science, the great white hope of this century, succeed or fail? It may sound like boasting when I say that, in my opinion, the answer rests more squarely on the social sciences than it does on the others. This is not a boast; it is a most solemn statement of belief, made in all humility. The reasoning behind it is simple and direct.

There is not a single important concrete result of research in the physical and natural sciences that cannot be, that has not been, and that will not be again turned to use in the prosecution of war. The employment of these techniques for war is, to be sure, not the fault of the scientists and technicians, but rather the acts of politicians, militarists, and other war-makers, who act under the compulsion of accumulated events, or on their own volition, but always with the active support of the rest of us, once we have been properly conditioned. Modern warfare has been called and is mechanized warfare, but it is more than that—it is ideological warfare. It is the clash of ideas and idea systems that is responsible for the precipitation of nations and peoples into the bitter, vengeful, useless struggle that is war. Ideas will never be modified or eradicated or reconciled by war. As Dorothy Thompson put it recently, "You cannot fight an idea with loans or bombs. You can only fight a bad idea with a better idea." To change ideas or to render them harmless is not the business of the natural and physical scientists as such. But it is at least one function of the social scientist, and to this task he should devote his best thoughts, research efforts, and methods of expression. Upon his success or failure in this major respect will depend not only the validation or invalidation of his claims as a scientist in the field of human relationships, but possibly also the future state of mankind and civilization. This is, as I see it, the challenge of the world today to our sciences and to us. Are we ready, able and willing to accept the challenge?

One of the first things we need to do is to put our own house in order by eliminating, forgetting, or ignoring many of the differences that divide us; by concentrating more of our research energies on basic research, where the principal need lies; and by striving by whatever means are necessary to establish ourselves and our science in the good graces of those who can supply the funds for research, publication and teaching. We should join with our fellow social scientists and friends in a persistent effort to have the social sciences included as a division in the proposed National Science Foundation. To this end, it is suggested that this Association, by resolution, lend assistance to the committees and organizations that are working for the legislation. Perhaps our interest and support can be shown best by cooperating with the Social Science Research Council and by our respective national social science associations, all of which have committees at work on the matter. Letters to congressmen from the several states in the Southwest region should carry some weight when the proper time comes. By all means, let us be alert, active, and persistent in our efforts to further the interests of our science without sacrificing the principles for which true science stands.

My closing remarks will be in the form of a story, the moral of which I trust will be apparent. Some years ago there appeared a brief story of Abraham Davenport, which I think apropos of what I have been saying. The Connecticut legislature, of which Davenport was a member, was in session on May 19, 1870, when there occurred an "unannounced" eclipse of the sun. There was great excitement and consternation. Many were declaring that the end of the world had come. Women fainted, men were hysterical. Then in the midst of all this darkness, confusion and fear, Abraham Davenport arose and said, "Gentlemen, this is either the end of the world or it is not the end of the world. If it is, I want to be found under God doing my duty. If it is not, there is nothing for us to be excited about here. I move that lights be brought in and we proceed to do our duty."

The Attitude of Thomas Jefferson Toward the Judiciary

LAWRENCE W. DIXON

LOUISIANA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

During the latter weeks of the Federalists' control under John Adams' regime, certain noteworthy decisions pertaining to the judiciary were made with a view of maintaining influence and prestige for the party. For a long while there had been a considerable amount of discussion regarding the advisability of reorganizing the judiciary and providing for special judges, thereby relieving the Supreme Court of some of its increasing duties. Although the bill was defeated in the 1799-1800 session of congress, the strong urge of the Federalists for its passage did not cease. Realizing full well that the time was not too far in the distant future when such a reorganization would be considered inevitable, they did not want to see the time come (possibly following the approaching election) when the opposing party would likely succeed in putting through such a measure and thus capitalize on the recognition that would result from the appointment of so many federal judges. The Federalists accomplished their objective in getting the law passed February 13, 1801, just a brief time before Jefferson succeeded Adams as president. Adams, to be sure, used his discretionary power in appointing these sixteen judges. Under the circumstances, the Republicans felt justified in sharply criticising this gesture of Adams, since it appeared quite evident that his motive, instead of being constructive, was purely a selfish one.

Immediately following Jefferson's inauguration as president, he desired to make it definite and certain that those who were appointed to political offices should entertain views which were favorable to and acceptable by the party in power. He furthermore believed that it would represent a sad mistake to leave in office those who had been appointed by the preceding administration. To have chosen any other course in this respect would have been quite unsatisfactory to his political followers. He set out first

to remove those holding political appointments who had been guilty of misconduct while in office and to investigate the charges which had been brought against the federal judges. Hoping not to stir up any more dissension than was considered essential, Jefferson at first chose the easiest way out in refusing to remove one from office for political reasons alone. But he soon discovered, much to his surprise and disappointment, that only a very few individual office holders had been guilty of possessing views adverse to the Republican party in power — at least no convincing evidence could be produced.

At the time Jefferson assumed his duties as president, the question concerning the judiciary was a delicate one. He could not very well evade the issue — it was to be faced squarely, because the success of his administration depended largely on the outcome of his struggle with this particular problem. Outstanding political leaders at the time were widely divided on this very subject. Hamilton and Marshall were lined up on one side, and Jefferson and Madison, advocates of state rights, were on the other side. There was no doubt in their minds as to how the opposition stood on this far-reaching issue. These judgeships were created under the Federalist administration; and as an added complexity to this problem for Jefferson and Madison, the judges were in office for a lifetime appointment. Despite this complication, Jefferson set out to eliminate Marshall from his office as chief justice of the Supreme Court (which appointment was one of the last acts of Adams while he was president) or else to neutralize his power to the extent that his influence would not be seriously felt in blocking Jefferson's constructive program. At the time, two courses for accomplishing this objective seemed to be open to him. One was to secure an amendment to the constitution changing the term of office of Supreme Court judges from life to four or six years. Another scheme was to pack the Supreme Court with additional judges in order to offset the voting power of Marshall and the other federalist judges already in office.

The proper procedure to be observed for inaugurating the changes in the judiciary set-up was not at first altogether clear to Jefferson. An Act of 1801 made possible the establishment of courts which would range in authority between the Supreme Court and the district courts with their own judges. Representatives of the Republican party pointed out that Adams had acted unwisely and indiscreetly in making these judgeship appointments only a few weeks before his term of office as president expired. The Judiciary Act was repealed even though it was accomplished by a very small majority vote. Thereafter, the power of the Supreme Court judges was noticeably curtailed. The influence of the court was further reduced in changing the number of sessions from two to one each year. The first session following the repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801 was to be held on the first Monday in February. This prolonged date made possible certain judicial readjustments before the next session of the Supreme Court convened, thereby greatly lessening the possibility of its trying to declare the repeal of the Act as unconstitutional.

Regarding the exclusive rights assumed by the Supreme Court judges in passing on the constitutionality of laws without any further appeal, Jefferson denied that the constitution contained any such provision. He maintained that of the three branches of government, the legislative was clothed with the highest authority, as it was vested with the power of final jurisdiction in impeaching and punishing any member of the other two branches who violated the provisions set out in the constitution. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the legislative members were not law unto themselves, because the control exercised over them was the general public which, in the final analysis, determines the length of their tenure of office.

The three branches of government were originally intended to serve as checks and balances — not to place such great power in the judiciary as to leave the legislative and the executive branches appearing to be at the mercy of the judiciary. At the time the constitution was drawn up, less emphasis seemed to be given to the judiciary branch; but through the years it had become, ac-

according to Jefferson, the most feared of any of the branches. Their court rulings were supposedly based on the "Doctrine of Stare Decisis," but close students of government were able to recognize a gradual changing of the meaning of the constitution as revealed in the court decisions, resulting in more of a liberal construction being placed on the provisions contained in the constitution.

Jefferson was bitterly opposed to that portion of the constitution which provided that judges comprising the judiciary were to be appointed for life with no mention of a possible impeachment except for incompetency or misconduct in office. The previous court decisions had had a tendency to minimize state rights. Jefferson, therefore, suggested that it would be highly advisable to change the tenure of such judges from life to four or six years subject to their being removed from office by the president and the senate. This, he believed, would have a good effect in that the judges would not become so opinionated or biased in rendering their decisions, thus better insuring their giving adequate consideration to the issues brought before them.

Jefferson believed that an error had been made in the judiciary set-up in that it conformed too closely to the English idea where it was recognized as being essential and expedient that judges should be independent of the King. Nevertheless, he thought we had failed to initiate and adopted the English cautions which provided for the removal of the judges by a majority of the two Houses of Parliament. During the time of the revolution in England, much was accomplished in changing the tenure of their judges from a removal at pleasure to that of removing them on grounds of their having violated the principles of good behavior. This was a big step forward for their judiciary, because under the old set-up of making the King supreme in such cases, the judges had been robbed of much of their freedom in making decisions. In fact, they had been nothing more than mere tools of the King.

Our precautionary measures, meanwhile, had not been as effective as those adopted by the English, since we required a vote of two-thirds of both houses before a judge could be removed. In

making this particular comparison, Jefferson maintained that our judicial regulations were not in keeping with our needs for better insuring efficiency in the management of our government. As matters stood, too much independence was being extended to the members of our judiciary. Even though Jefferson did not favor any plan for making the judges dependent on the president, he, nevertheless, felt that the very loose methods employed in regulating the judiciary could well afford some form of modification.

At the time the constitution was adopted, the judiciary was thought of as being the least important and most helpless of the three divisions; but soon the precedents it established with reference to the constitutionality of laws made it the most dangerous. The inadequate means provided for the removal of the members of the judiciary afforded them a great deal of independence which naturally resulted in the possibility of a growing temptation for their rendering partial and biased decisions. Jefferson's remark that "man was not to be trusted for life" was a clever insinuation that all individuals are fallible, and after one has been in office for some time, people observe the psychology of approach through his pronounced weaknesses and tempt him to deviate from the principle of free agency in arriving at decisions.

In 1822, Jefferson frankly reviewed the way judiciary opinions in the past had been prepared. He referred to the customary manner employed under the English common law to the end of the reign of George the Second when each judge gave his separate opinion supported by his reasons and authorities. Jefferson admired this procedure, because one could follow the line of reasoning employed by each member and discover whether or not their views were unanimous. In the event they were quite divided in their decisions, the case would not be expected to carry so strong a precedence as it otherwise would have, had all or a big majority of the judges been in accord as to their findings and conclusions.

It was pointed out that when Lord Mansfield was called to the bench, he instituted the plan of presenting caucus opinions. This the judges did by meeting in their chambers and preparing an

opinion which was to be submitted as the court's decision. When Lord Kenyon succeeded Lord Mansfield, the general opinion idea of the court which had been adopted by Lord Mansfield was discontinued, and the judges followed a previous precedence of submitting individual opinions called the "seriatim." In reviewing the various ways of submitting judiciary opinions, Jefferson referred to Mr. Pendleton of the Virginia court of appeals as a follower of and a staunch believer in Lord Mansfield's plan of arriving at the decision in private and in rendering the decision in mass, thus eliminating any possible criticism that could be directed at any particular judge as a result of the opinion he had entertained.

Jefferson was not certain as to the time when "seriatim" opinions ceased in the supreme court, but the information revealed that the practice was being followed in the year 1800. When Marshall became chief justice of the supreme court, he adopted the practice of Mr. Pendleton of the Virginia court of appeals and also of Lord Mansfield in preparing the opinions in private and submitting them as decisions of the court without giving the public the benefit of the decisions and reasoning of each of the judges.

Even though the supreme court judges could be impeached only for incompetency and individual reputation, the practice was not to permit the public to have any knowledge concerning the ones rendering the majority opinions. Since no particular person could be singled out and criticised for his decision, individual reputations were carefully guarded. Jefferson maintained that the procedure was one for "the lazy, the modest, and the incompetent." He pointed out that a big advantage in the "seriatim" plan of presenting opinions was that anyone could determine whether or not the individual judges had understood the facts in the case which would have provided the losing party with reasons for taking an appeal on the decisions rendered.

Jefferson expressed the hope that the judges would eventually see the wisdom, as well as the duty, of giving individual opinions on the cases brought before them so that people could recognize

their integrity and better appreciate their efforts in promoting justice to all alike. In doing so, they could better convince the public that they were thoroughly familiar with the facts in each case and the law which governed. People could then see for themselves that the decisions were the result of their independent reasoning.

In the year 1821, Jefferson stated that his greatest fear was the Federal judiciary, because, as he put: "That body like gravity, ever acting, with noiseless foot, and unalarming advance, gaining ground step by step and holding what it gains, is engulfing insidiously the special governments into the jaws of that which feed them."¹

Writing up the decisions of the members of the supreme court in caucus and allowing one member to submit the decision of the court without disclosing the opinions of other judges was declared by Jefferson as being a most objectionable practice. There was no possible way of bringing the members of the court before the bar of justice to give an accounting of their actions. On this score, Jefferson could not adjust himself to a condition such as that prevailing in the highest court of our land with its final jurisdiction. In other words, these judges were being placed in exalted positions where possible impeachment for inefficiency and incompetency was practically out of the question. Under the existing conditions, it appeared that the only weapon available for using against the judges was in the event of their failure to observe the principles of good character; and Jefferson advised his followers to always be on the alert.

¹*The Jeffersonian Cyclopaedia*, John P. Foley, Editor, (Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1900), 842.

Notice of Termination — A Farm Lease Problem in Texas

JOE R. MOTHERAL

A. AND M. COLLEGE OF TEXAS

This report is based on a ten-year study of farm leases in Texas. It describes the character and growth of a serious leasing problem, analyzes possible alternative solutions, and suggests the adoption of a corrective measure in the form of specific legislation.

In 1937 a project designed to study problems of land tenure in Texas was initiated by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. Since that time the analysis of existing landlord-tenant relationships has been carried on continuously by the Station on its own resources and through cooperation with various other state, federal, and private organizations.

Thousands of farm lease forms have been supplied, either directly or through the Extension Service, to farmers throughout Texas. A considerable volume of inquiries concerning specific leasing problems has been handled annually from information developed on this project, particularly during the months when leases come up for renewal. Questions ranging from "Who should haul the corn to town?" to "How should I divide the syrup with my tenant if I own the mill?" have been directed to the Station during these ten years. In each case an effort has been made to furnish suggestions, alternatives, or cost-income data that will aid the landlord and tenant in reaching a mutually satisfactory agreement.

In the process of collecting and disseminating this information, certain common and widespread leasing problems have tended to appear recurrently until some have assumed the unmistakable role of outstanding weaknesses in the prevailing system of tenure. Of several such weaknesses, none has so persistently troubled landlords and tenants, nor so clearly retarded economical production on rented farms as the instability of occupancy by tenants.

One-year tenancies terminating at the end of the lease period without advance notice are by far the most common kind of leasing arrangement in Texas. Yet they contain practically none of the prime requirements either of sound husbandry or of ordinary good business. This method of renting is a holdover from another era to which it was roughly adapted — the early developmental stage in Texas agriculture — when the conservative use of land resources did not always appear to be important or necessary.

A brief review of some of the changes in the agriculture of the State during the last two decades will clarify this farm lease problem and suggest possible solutions.

THE PROBLEM

From the days of pioneer settlement, annual cash crops came to dominate the economy of great areas of Texas. Many of those who acquired title to land and those who possessed management ability and working equipment effected a division of functions, especially in the production of cotton and feed crops. Then, as now, the arrangement was known as the "third-and-fourth system."

The third-and-fourth system divides production and price risks between landowner and tenant on a crop-share basis. It was recognized at an early date in England and, over the years, has been sanctioned by an intricate structure of statutory laws, court decisions, and widely accepted customs. While it is popularly believed to constitute a fixed set of rules, the third-and-fourth system has more than once been subjected to subtle change by the force of economic pressures.¹ Thus it has survived good times and bad and has stood up as the prevailing type of landlord-tenant agreement in most parts of the State.

Despite its quality of flexibility, however, the way has not been found to adapt the third-and-fourth system to the facts of farm

¹For a more complete discussion of this subject, see "Recent Trends in Land Tenure in Texas," by Joe R. Motheral, Bulletin No. 641, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, June, 1944.

production in Texas during the last ten years. The principal fact is that the prevailing crop and livestock organization on most farms in this State comprises a long-time operation that cannot be handled effectively on a short-time contractual basis. Once it was possible each fall to market the cotton, clear up the accounts, and relax until time to plant another crop next spring; that is, unless the interim was needed by the tenant to find a new rent place. A tenant's possessions were, by the nature of the system highly mobile.

The scope of the adjustments that have altered this situation can best be understood by a few comparative figures. In 1930, cotton acreage in Texas totaled almost 17 million acres. In 1946 it was down to six million acres. During the same period, cattle numbers increased by nearly 1½ million head, most of the gain occurring in row-crop areas. Sheep and lambs increased by nearly 3 million head. Acreage in grain sorghum tripled and land devoted to pasture took on a new importance as a direct source of income.

Farms increased in average size from 252 to 369 acres. Between 1930 and 1940 alone, the number of farm tractors in Texas rose from 37 thousand to 99 thousand. Government-sponsored programs of soil conservation converted hundreds of thousands of acres of land into new and usually less intensive uses.

The trend was away from the annual cash crop and toward a more varied production program with much greater emphasis on livestock. Agriculture became mechanized and large-scaled. The average farm tenant could no longer move his household goods in one wagon load and pull his farm machinery behind. Nor could he and his landlord hope to come to terms on soil-conserving practices with their contract expiring annually at the close of the calendar year. One of the greatest handicaps for both parties was their inability to develop a five- or ten-year livestock program under the strict one-year limitations of the third-and-fourth system.

Many landlords and tenants experimented with share-cash leases and livestock-share arrangements with varying degrees of success. At best, these modifications of the third-and-fourth system made it possible to take advantage of the same income opportunities from livestock production that were available to owner-operators. At worst, they amounted to a postponement of the basic failure of an archaic renting system.

By 1940, some improvement was evident, but a solution to the general instability of tenure on rented farms had not been found. In that year the census showed that nearly one-third of all the operating tenants in the state had occupied their farms for less than two years. Another 31 percent had worked the same farm for less than four years. A minority of tenants, therefore, had enjoyed a period of occupancy sufficient to have permitted the beginnings either of a livestock program or of systematic soil improvement practices.

A GENERAL SOLUTION

One means of stabilizing tenure is believed to be through the conversion of tenants to landowners. Even at the low point in home ownership, which in Texas was probably reached in 1930 when the rate of tenancy rose to 61 percent, the accepted principle of home-owned, family type farms persisted in the minds of most Texans. A number of government aids have been devoted to that ideal. Chief among these was the tenant purchase program of the Farm Security Administration,² or, as it is now named, the Farmers Home Administration. From the inception of the program in 1938, through November, 1946, this agency made a total of 4,424 farm-ownership loans, of which 814 have already been repaid in full.

These programs, coupled with the sweeping adjustments already enumerated, resulted in a greatly reduced rate of tenancy: However, the institution of tenancy is not easily eliminated. More than two out of every five farms in the State are still under tenant operation and there is no indication that the rate will fall much lower.

²A direct outgrowth of "Farm Tenancy," Report of the President's Committee, Government Printing Office, Feb., 1937.

Were it possible to transform all farm operators into landowners, it would still pose a grave question of public policy. Tenancy in a free economy is a device by which thousands of young men having enterprise, but lacking capital, may achieve ownership status. Furthermore, it provides alternative opportunities for the employment of different individual skills and aptitudes.

Thus, a general solution may be no solution at all. Farm tenancy is likely to remain an important factor in agricultural production, and its elimination, even if practicable, might cause more difficulties than it cures. The challenge, therefore, lies in the direction of strengthening existing tenancy relationships and it points toward adjustments that conform to changing economic and social conditions. A realistic approach to a solution of the problem of tenure instability begins with a consideration of the institution of tenancy as it exists and whether or not it is susceptible to adjustment.

A PARTIAL SOLUTION

Long-term leases are often proposed as a means of stabilizing occupancy on rented farms. Many persons believe that such arrangements will provide the psychology of security that a tenant must have in order to develop profitable livestock enterprises and to take an active interest in the maintenance of the improvements and soil resources of the farm. Considerable progress has been made by some of the government agencies in encouraging the adoption of leases for a term of three, five, and even ten years.

In 1946 the Farmers Home Administration reported that farm lease information was available on 6,885 of its tenant borrowers in Texas. One-year leases were being used by 2,848, or 41 percent of these borrowers; while 2,190, or 32 percent, had written leases of two to three years; and 1,847, or 27 percent, were operating under written leases of four or more years' duration.

In grazing areas of the State, long-term leases are common. The capital requirements of large-scale livestock production are so high that producers generally insist on leases extending over

a longer period than one year as a matter of protecting their investment. For example, the lands owned by the University of Texas, which total approximately 2 million acres, are uniformly operated under ten-year leases. Most individual landowners in the Edwards Plateau and the Trans-Pecos grazing area follow a similar practice.

However, the idea of long-term leases generally has not been well received in the areas devoted largely to field crops. In 1942, a sample of 180 farms rented to managing tenants in the Black Prairie revealed that 96 percent were operated under one-year agreements.³ Virtually none of these leases included clear-cut provisions for renewal. Previous studies in other important cropping areas have yielded similar findings.⁴

Why this almost universal use of a short-time contract in a long-time farming system?

Essentially, the explanation revolves about the array of customs associated with the production of an annual cash crop, an operation that begins and ends within the calendar year and in which there are no significant processes that overlap the seasons. Such customs, geared though they are to a specialized cropping system that no longer exists in its old form, are deeply rooted and slow to change.

Another plausible reason often advanced by landowners for not negotiating long-term leases with their tenants is that it limits their freedom in transferring the property. This is especially true in the case of loan agencies which, acquiring farm land by foreclosure, regard their status as that of unwilling owners and have their holdings continuously up for sale.

³From unpublished data collected on the Southwest Regional Tenure Project, a study sponsored by the departments of agricultural economics and rural sociology in Experiment Stations of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the General Education Board, and the Farm Foundation.

⁴Among others, see "Type of Farm Tenancy Areas in Texas," by Joe R. Motheral, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Oct., 1941.

Many individual owners wish to avoid, in the event of death, the complications that a long-term lease might present to their heirs in the settlement of the estate. Still others contemplate returning to the farm themselves at some future date, perhaps upon retirement from business, and do not care to have a long-term lease barring their way. Moreover, it is a general rule of law, with few exceptions, that "a lease of real estate for a term longer than one year to be enforceable must be in writing."⁵ Written leases have never been very popular in Texas and the vast majority of rental agreements now in effect are oral.⁶ Finally, there are some tenants who, for various reasons, do not want to be bound to a particular farm for longer than a year at a time.

Where a long-term lease is not objectionable to either of the contracting parties it offers definite advantages and will go a long way toward overcoming some of the inherent weaknesses of the customary one-year lease. But, for the reasons already enumerated, there is little justification for expecting their adoption in the principal cropping areas in the immediate future. A partial solution lacking general application will not accomplish the end that most landlords and tenants desire.

How may the complex attitudes and institutions be reconciled with the facts of agricultural production? One device that should not be overlooked is legislation.

A CORRECTIVE

The preceding discussion indicates (a) that a fairly high rate of farm tenancy is likely to persist in Texas for a long time to come; (b) that there is little disposition on the part of landlords and tenants in most areas to lease for periods longer than one year; and (c) that this method of renting and the prevailing systems of farming are frequently incompatible.

⁵"Legal Aspects of Farm Tenancy in Texas," by Erling D. Solberg, USDA Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Texas Agricultural Experiment Station cooperating. This report is now in manuscript form.

⁶In 1941, four out of five farm leases in the State were oral: Motheral, Joe R., "Farm Tenancy Areas in Texas."

In light of these considerations, the critical point appears to be the way in which the annual lease is extended from year to year. In other words, how far ahead can a tenant plan, with any degree of assurance, his next year's operations? Or, what guarantee of renewal does a landlord have prior to the end of the contract with his tenant?

In terms of legal requirements the answer is *none*.

"Texas law is uncertain as to the length of notice required to terminate a tenancy for another year."⁷ Under the common law a landlord or tenant was required to give six months' notice in order to terminate a tenancy from year to year. This rule has been nullified in Texas by court interpretations holding that oral tenancies from year to year do not exist in the state, that each year "constitutes a separate distinct tenancy." There is nothing, of course, to prevent a landlord and tenant from providing for notice of termination by express agreement.

It appears that a girder was removed from the structure of common law and replaced with a straw. The gap left by the withdrawal of this mutually protective provision has not been effectively filled by statute. Under the law as it stands it is conceivable that a tenancy relationship in Texas may be terminated on the last day of the year without so much as an advance hint that such action is contemplated. It is hardly to be expected that stable, satisfactory landlord-tenant relationships will be built on this foundation.

Despite the absence of a uniform standard for serving advance notice of termination, a high percentage of Texas landlords and tenants have a creditable record in that respect. In a study made in Kaufman County by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1941, it was found that arrangements for renewing the lease for the subsequent year were completed before November in 56 percent of the cases. On 18 percent of the rented farms notice of 30 to 60 days was

⁷Solberg, Erling D., "Legal Aspects of Farm Tenancy in Texas," with reference, among others, to Frank Bobbitt (1930) 8 *Tex. Law Rev.*

given, and 10 percent of the agreements included some kind of understanding which, though of doubtful legality, could be classed roughly as an automatic renewal clause.

Terms of the remaining 16 per cent of the rental agreements, however, either were not settled until January or else simply "limped into being" with neither party being altogether sure of his contractual status. In a few instances there were indications that the delay in renewing represented bargaining strategy on the part of an individual seeking more favorable rental terms.

In no case, including those who came to terms at an early date, was there anything more than a moral obligation to serve a reasonable advance notice.

Many states, unlike Texas, require that some advance notice be given before a farm lease can be terminated. One state, Iowa, has gone further, specifying that the lease renews automatically unless notice of termination is delivered at least four months prior to the end of the contract year. The experience of Iowa in this regard should furnish guidance to other states in which legislation may come up for consideration.

A PRECEDENT

In 1939, following a study made by the Iowa Farm Tenancy Commission, the Iowa General Assembly passed a law governing notice of termination of farm leases.⁸ This statute, known as

⁸The development, passage, and success of this law have been the subject of a number of articles by economists and others. The material for this discussion is drawn mainly from the following sources:

"Report and Recommendations of the Farm Tenancy Committee," Iowa State Planning Board, Oct., 1938; Rainer Schickele, "Preparation of a Tenancy Program in Iowa," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, Feb., 1938; Rainer Schickele, "An Experiment in Democratic Policy Making," *Land Policy Review*, Dec. 1938; Walter W. Wilcox, "Is Iowa's New Lease Law Effective?," *Iowa Farm Economist*, Jan. 1940; J. Lloyd Spaulding, "What the Courts Say about Iowa's Lease Law," *Iowa Farm Economist*, Sept., 1940; "Termination of Agricultural Tenancies," *Iowa Law Review*, Jan., 1941; Sullam, V. B., "The Iowa Statutory Provisions for Automatic Lease Renewal," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Aug., 1942; and *Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, issues of 6 March, 1943; 3 April, 1943; and 17 Aug., 1946.

Chapter 235, contains several sections but for purposes of this discussion a sentence from section 10161 is pertinent:

In the case of farm tenants, except mere croppers, occupying and cultivating an acreage of forty acres or more, the tenancy shall continue for the following crop year upon the same terms and conditions as the original lease unless written notice for termination is given by either party to the other not later than November first, whereupon the tenancy shall terminate March first following; provided, further, the tenancy shall not continue because of absence of notice in case there be default in the performance of the existing rental agreement.

It should be observed that the contract year customarily ends in Iowa on March 1. While the recommendation of the Farm Tenancy Commission called for six months' notice, in the law the notification date of November 1 fixed the period of notice at four months. In practice, notice is sent by registered mail, if either party wishes to terminate. Otherwise, no action is necessary.

Also, it is significant that two classes of leases are exempt from the requirements of the law—sharecropper arrangements and all other tenancies involving less than 40 acres. There are only a small number of croppers in Iowa and their exclusion presumably was due to such considerations as difficulty of enforcement. Apparently the acreage minimum was inserted in order to exclude part-time and small farm operations where the investment factor does not require legal protection to the extent warranted by tenancies under full-time management.

As an experiment in the attack upon instability of occupancy, the Iowa law offers a noteworthy example of the potentialities of legislation in the field of farm tenure. The degree of success it has attained during the seven years since its passage has evidently exceeded even the hopes of its sponsors.

Initially the law caused confusion among some tenants and landowners, particularly loan agencies and other corporations whose holdings are normally sold during the fall months. The necessity for changing to new lease forms also proved burdensome the first year. However, a survey of corporate landowners late in 1939 indicated that most of them had adjusted their leasing practices to conform to the law without undue difficulty. A majority had found it unnecessary to send termination notices "except to

tenants on farms sold by Nov. 1, to undesirable tenants and to those on a few farms reserved for sale." Six out of 18 corporations that were polled reported they had reserved the right to make sales and cancel leases for another month or two beyond the November deadline.

During 1940 the law was put to a variety of tests in district and justice of the peace courts in at least 10 counties. Most of these decisions concerned such questions as the legality of sales clauses and whether or not the law was retroactive. The issue of its constitutionality did not arise until 1942. The following year a decision was rendered by the Iowa Supreme Court declaring the statute to be constitutional. The judicial philosophy supporting the majority opinion was enlightening.

This legislation is not vulnerable to the constitutional attack here made if it can be said to be a reasonable exercise of the police power of the state of Iowa . . .

Such legislation as Chapter 235 of the Acts of the Forty-eighth General Assembly was designed to correct the evils of an ever-increasing farm tenancy situation, to the end that the public welfare and prosperity would be promoted. Clearly, it was within the power of the legislature to designate farm tenancy as a subject of police regulation. The federal government has recognized farm tenancy as a proper subject of federal legislation . . .

It is quite apparent that during recent years the old concept of duties and responsibilities of the owners and operators of farm land has undergone a considerable change.

Such persons, by controlling the food source of the nation, bear a certain responsibility to the general public. They possess a vital part of the national wealth, and legislation designed to stop waste and exploitation in the interest of the general public is within the sphere of the state's police power.

Whether this legislation has, or will in the future accomplish the desired result is not for this court to determine. The legislature evidently felt that unstable tenure led to soil exploitation and waste. The amendment aims at security of tenure, and it is therefore within the police power of the state.

How satisfactory, in practice, has the notice of termination law proved to be? Four years after it went into effect, a farm journal conducted an opinion poll to find out.⁹ The survey was based on "hundreds of personal interviews with a cross-section of Iowa's farm people," including tenants and owners, members of both major political parties, and both small and large operators in all five of the principal geographical districts of the state.

⁹Wallace's *Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, 6 March, 1943.

Only seven percent of the farmers in the sample thought the law should be repealed; 39 percent did not think it should be changed; and 44 percent thought the notification date should be moved back to September 1. Ten percent had no opinion.

In August, 1946, the survey was repeated. This time only four percent of the farmers favored repeal, 40 percent no change; and 55 percent expressed the opinion that the period of notice should be lengthened to six months. Owner-operators wholeheartedly approved the measure, 87 percent of them registering a preference for a notice of four to six months.

Instability of tenure is a problem that engages a complex sphere of law and custom. It is too much to expect legislation directed at only one sector of landlord-tenant relations to remove all the obstacles. The notice of termination law, however, has been found to be a valuable remedial measure in a state in which the problem bears a striking resemblance to that of unstable tenure in Texas.

A CONCLUSION

Tenancy legislation should be examined in the light of certain standards common to all laws governing the conduct of men. Any list of criteria would probably raise the following questions:

1. Is there a widespread need which cannot be met, or has not been met by educational processes?
2. Is legislation capable, wholly or partially, of meeting the need?
3. Is the legislation constitutional?
4. Is it simple to comply with and easy to enforce?

The need for stabilizing farm tenure in Texas has long been evident. As early as 1921, the President of A. & M. College named as some of the evils of the short-time leasing system, "... soil depletion, injury to farm buildings, and equipment, and general neglect of the premises."¹⁰ He recommended modification of the law along the lines of the English Agricultural Holding Acts of 1908-14. (Automatic renewal in lieu of notice of termina-

¹⁰William Bennett Bizzell, "Farm Tenantry in the United States," Bulletin No. 278, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, April, 1921.

tion was a basic feature of the Holdings Act.) Since Dr. Bizzell's study this need has been intensified by the drastic adjustments throughout our system of agriculture.

The experience of Iowa suggests that a notice of termination law offers real possibilities of correcting one of the worst aspects of the problem, namely, the year-round psychology of insecurity that pervades landlord-tenant relations in this state. A tenant, for example, who may have to break up a livestock program on a day's notice would hardly have the same viewpoint as the tenant who is assured of 120 days in which to dispose of his breeding stock or to find another rent place. His attitude toward maintaining the farm plant might be different, too.

The issue of constitutionality is one which the Legislature would have to evaluate in framing the statute.

The practical question of "Is it workable?" is one to which legislators are obliged to give careful consideration. In January, 1939, a bill was introduced in the Texas Legislature embodying a number of reforms in the tenure system of the State.¹¹ It failed to pass. One of the objections to this measure was that it proposed some sweeping changes in farm leasing practices which would create difficulties of compliance and enforcement. It is unlikely that a notice of termination statute would be subject to this criticism. As has been shown, oral notice, in a haphazard way, is already given under most legitimate leasing arrangements and the practice is, therefore, not strange to Texas farmers.

Such a regulation should offer no serious problem either of compliance or enforcement. To renew a contract would call for no action by either party and, to terminate one, only the effort of writing a brief note. Since a violation ordinarily would result in injury to one or the other of the parties, enforcement would be assured through the usual court action.

¹¹H. R. 23. See "Specific Legislation Affecting Farm Tenure Which Should Be Encouraged," by C. Horace Hamilton, *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. XX.

A RECOMMENDATION

To be effective in Texas, any statute must be tailored to the specific conditions of Texas agriculture. Attention should be given to the factors that would affect the provisions of legislation regulating the termination of tenancies. Several such factors are discussed below.

1. A considerable portion of Texas tenancy law does not distinguish between urban and rural tenancies. While the mixture has not always been disadvantageous to farmers, there is no apparent justification for including both classes of tenancies in a notice of termination law. *The law should apply to farm landlords and tenants only.*

2. Care should be taken to avoid jeopardizing landlord-tenant relationships that are already functioning on a stable basis. *The law should not apply to tenancies for a term of years.*

3. The question of including sharecroppers would have to be settled. One lead is the fact that the regulation touches upon a primary contractual obligation. To require renewal of a contract in which the only contribution of one of the parties is his labor, would contribute very little to what is essentially an employer-employee relationship. In any suit for damages growing out of a broken contract, financial responsibility would be involved; few croppers could qualify on that score. Moreover, enforcement would be difficult where written notice is required of a group with a comparatively high rate of illiteracy. *Sharecroppers, in the sense of laborers paid in kind, should be excluded from the provisions of the law.*

4. Study should be given to the minimum size of farms to be covered by the statute. The minimum should be set sufficiently high so as to exclude leases on most of the following kinds of farms: (a) Part-time farms and quasi-residential property, (b) small tracts near cities which are planted in truck crops or used for such purposes as production of poultry, commercial flowers, and the like, (c) commercial orchards having seasonal characteristics that are greatly different from those identified with field crops, and (d) farms operated on a full-time basis but which

are small and often located in remote sections. *Inclusion of farms of limited size would tend to complicate enforcement of this type of legislation.*

5. Length of notice is of paramount importance. If it is to be equitable and useful, the period should be neither too long nor too short. If it is too long, neither landlord nor tenant would have a reasonable opportunity to appraise one another as a partner in farm production. If it is too short, the purpose of the measure — to provide an element of security and continuity in farming operations — would be defeated.

Every major field crop in the state is harvested, or has matured to a point where yields are fairly predictable, by September 1. By that date, even in the case of first-year tenancies, eight months of the lease have elapsed and the process of sizing up the quality of the farm and the farmer should be complete. In the event the lease is terminated, enough time would remain for each to adjust his business, for the landlord to find a new operator and the tenant a new farm; and without either risking serious losses. Furthermore, September 1 is a date already widely used for serving notice orally.

Some important crops and livestock, however, overlap this general seasonal pattern; for example, winter fruits and vegetables, winter wheat, and beef cattle in certain areas. In such instances it is not uncommon for leases to expire in the spring, or at other times besides the end of the calendar year. To avoid the risk of disturbing the harmony between lease terms and the seasonal factor in production, the date of notice should be prescribed in terms of an interval of time, rather than as a specific day in the year.

The law should stipulate that farm leases shall renew automatically for another year, provided neither party serves notice of termination in writing four months prior to the expiration date of the lease.

Previous study of farm leases in Texas has revealed that the problem of unstable tenure is most acute in six type-of-farming areas. They are the Panhandle wheat area, the High Plains cotton area, the Rolling Plains, the Corpus Christi cotton area, the

Black Prairie, and the Coast Prairie. By restricting the application of the notice law to tenants having "dominion over the land," by excluding small farms, and by wisely selecting the deadline date for delivery of notice, the full effect of the regulation may be brought to bear in areas where it will be of most benefit in mitigating the problem of unstable farm tenure.

Congressional Committee Reorganization in 1946

JACK A. RHODES

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I.

INTRODUCTION

Congress has enacted approximately 25,000 statutes; but, only a small percentage have effected structural and procedural reorganization of that body itself. Moreover, the two Houses of Congress have been dilatory in self-improvement through the more common procedures of rule making and resolutions.¹ As a result, Congressional techniques for deliberation and policy formation are inappropriate to the needs of modern government.

In practice, a characteristic of our division of powers theory is the cyclical oscillation of national leadership between the legislative and executive branches. Legislative reorganization assumes special significance in these days of Congressional leadership; the long-run stakes are no less than representative government itself.

II.

BACKGROUND FOR REORGANIZATION

The failure of the Founding Fathers to give express recognition to the role of administration has made of this function a prolonged executive-legislative battleground. Congress, meanwhile, has been forced to delegate more and greater powers to the executive; criticism has often been directed against the manner of execution of these statutory grants. Congress, with antiquated committee systems and procedures, has been on the defensive, while struggling to put its own house in order. Reorganization has become indispensable if Congress is to realize in practice the role assigned to it by constitutional theory.

¹Congress, unlike many state legislatures, has broad constitutional power to provide for its own organization and procedure.

Article 1, Section 5, Clause 2, of the constitution says that "each Congress may determine the rules of its proceedings."

Congress may also provide for its organization and procedure by statutes: *Chapman vs. U.S.* (1896), 8 app. D.C. 302; in re *Chapman* (1897), 17 S. Ct. 667.

For the most part, motivation for legislative reform has come, not for the purpose of direct improvement of the lawmaking function, but for more effective Congressional surveillance over administration. The silence of the constitution on administration has focused criticism on both the executive and legislative branches.

In 1943, a special committee of the House of Representatives, created to investigate the exercise of statutory grants to the executive, recommended, among other things, a joint committee of Congress to study the problems of the legislative branch.² This recommendation anticipated the further decline of Congressional control over administration unless its organization and procedures were modernized.

III.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

Meanwhile, the 78th Congress, impressed with the need for self-improvement, authorized a Joint Committee "to make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress of the United States."³ The Committee was directed to make recommendations with a view toward "strengthening the Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the United States Government and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution."⁴

²H. Res. 102, 78th Congress, 1st session. The Chairman of the Committee was Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

³S. Con. Res. 23, 78th Congress, 1st session. Introduced by the late Senator Francis Maloney of Connecticut. H. Con. Res. 54, 78th Congress, 1st session. Representative A. S. Mike Monroney of Oklahoma. After the death of Senator Francis Maloney (January 16, 1945), Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., became Chairman of the Committee on March 3, 1945.

⁴S. Rept. 1011, 79th Congress, 2d session, p. 1.

The Joint Committee submitted its report to the House of Representatives and to the Senate on March 4, 1946.⁵ On April 15, 1946, a Senate resolution created a special committee of six Senators, who were members of the Joint Committee, to consider all bills, resolutions and amendments relating to reorganization of Congress. On May 10, the special committee was limited to consideration of bills having for their purpose the carrying out of recommendations contained in the report by the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. Senator Robert La Follette, Jr., introduced a bill embodying the recommendations of the Committee on May 10, 1946; the bill passed the Senate on June 10, 1946.

Meanwhile, in the House of Representatives a similar procedure was under way. Representative A. S. Mike Monroney introduced the Senate Resolution (S.R. 2177) in the House of Representatives, and the Select Joint Committee introduced a substitute bill which applied largely to the lower chamber. The amended version was accepted by the Senate and incorporated into Senate Resolution 2177. The Legislative Reorganization Bill became law with the signature of the President on August 2, 1946.

⁵Study and report made pursuant to H. Con. Res. 18, 79th Congress, 1st session. The Joint Committee of twelve members conducted its study with the expert aid of Mr. George B. Galloway as staff director. Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., followed Senator Francis Maloney as Chairman; Representative A. S. Mike Monroney served as Vice-Chairman. The intensive nature of the study is indicated by these statistics.

"The Committee held 39 public hearings and four executive sessions between March 13 and June 29, 1945. The testimony of 102 witnesses was taken, 45 of whom were members of Congress. In addition, 37 members and many interested private citizens submitted written statements." (see: Joint Committee Rept., "The Organization of Congress," 79th Congress, 2d session.)

The Committee in evaluating testimonies and proposals applied this test: "Will they strengthen Congress and enable it to do a better job?" (S. Rept. 1011, 79th Congress, 2d session, p. 1.) Many invaluable suggestions came from: (1) "The Reorganization of Congress," A Report of the Committee on Congress of the American Political Science Association, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1945; (2) Heller, Robert, "Strengthening the Congress," (National Planning Association, Planning Pamphlet No. 39).

IV.

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

Modern legislation is largely legislation by committee. The Joint Committee observed that 90 per cent of the legislative work of Congress is carried on in committees. The Committee stated that "no adequate improvement in the organization of Congress can be undertaken or effected unless Congress first reorganizes its present obsolete and overlapping committee structure."⁶ Committees have been established as the need arose with few over-all surveys of "the workshop of Congress." In this article I shall outline the reorganization of standing committees, effected in 1946, against the background of recommendations made by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. This approach should serve a twofold purpose: (1) as a means of evaluating the standing committee structural and procedural changes made in 1946; and (2) as a guide for recommending future supplementary reform of these "workshops" of Congress.

V.

JOINT COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

The first recommendation of the Committee was for consolidating the 33 standing Senate committees into 16; House committees were to be reduced from 48 to 18. The 16 Senate committees correspond with similar committees in the House. Each standing committee would be given authority to act jointly with the corresponding committee of the other house. Members of the Senate were to be limited to membership on two standing committees; House members were to serve on only one standing committee. This would permit an average membership of 23 on 17 standing House committees, retaining the 43 members on the Appropriations Committee. Each reorganized Committee would have "coequal standing" with the other committees.

⁶S. Rept. 1011, 79th Congress, 2d session, p. 2.

The Committee for Organization recommended a clearly-defined jurisdiction for each reorganized committee "so as to avoid overlapping and duplication and conflicts of jurisdiction."⁷ The major objective of a bill, in the opinion of the presiding officers of each house, would control the reference of bills to committees.

To effect better relations between Congress and the executive branch, the standing committees were to "carry on continuing review and oversight of legislation and agencies within their jurisdiction. Without effective legislative oversight of the vast executive branch the line of democracy wears thin."⁸ Broad powers of subpoena were recommended for the reorganized standing committees. The practice of creating special investigating committees was to be abolished.

The Report provided for "monthly docket days" by committees "for the public hearing of members who have bills pending before them." Complete records would be required for all committee proceedings (except executive sessions) with session attendance records and a record of votes when record votes were taken. These record votes were to appear regularly in the *Congressional Record*.

Committee chairmen, says the report, should be "required to report promptly all bills approved by the committee and seek a rule to bring them to the floor for consideration."⁹ Chairmen would be bound by the decisions of a majority of committee members.

The scope of authority of conference committees was to be limited to the actual points of controversy between the two chambers. Points on which both Houses had agreed could not be changed in conference.

Standing committee reports should include, says the recommendation, a digest of each bill in "nontechnical language" with "supporting statements of reasons for its passage, of the national interest involved, its cost, and the distribution of any benefits."¹⁰

⁷S. Rept. 1011, 79th Congress, 2d session, p. 5.

⁸*Ibid*, p. 6.

⁹*Ibid*, p. 7.

¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 8.

Expert staffs, employed on a merit basis, would study and make recommendations in the province of each standing committee. Each reorganized committee would be authorized to employ four staff experts on a merit basis. "The lack of skilled staffs for the committee workshops of Congress was more complained of than perhaps any other matter before your committee . . . The shocking lack of adequate congressional fact-finding services and skilled staffs sometimes reaches such ridiculous proportions as to make Congress dependent upon 'hand-outs' from Government departments and private groups or newspaper stories for its basic fund of information on which to base legislative decisions."¹¹

Present clerical and stenographic personnel should be retained (up to six per committee), says the Report. "Two of these clerks, or others to be employed, should be attached to the office of the Chairman, two to the ranking minority members, and two to the professional staff." As a means of expediting committee hearings, the Organization Committee recommends that all witnesses before congressional hearings be required to file briefs of their testimony in advance of the hearing. Professional staff members would prepare digests of these statements and "brief the committeemen on the questions to be asked each witness."

An interesting recommendation in the Report is for the establishment of policy committees and a joint legislative-executive council.

Policy committees were suggested to provide the mechanism for a more adequate expression of majority and minority party platforms. Thus, party accountability for action, or inaction, would become more clearly fixed. The Committee observes that "the present steering committees, an informal and little-used device, seldom meet and never steer."

The Report recommends four policy committees, composed of seven members each, appointed in their entirety at the beginning of each new Congress. In each house the majority and minority policy committees would be appointed by their respective party

¹¹*Ibid*, p. 9.

conferences. Majority policy committees of the two houses "would meet jointly at frequent intervals, as would those of the minority, to formulate the over-all legislative policy of the two parties."¹² Records of each individual's voting would be available to the public "as a means of holding both the party and the individual accountable." This procedure suggests the elimination of many of the evils inherent in a bicameral legislative system. In addition, it would approach the strict party accountability prevalent in the British parliamentary system.

In addition, the majority policy committee of House and Senate were to meet regularly with the President "to facilitate the formulation and carrying out of national policy, and to improve relationships between the executive and legislative branches of the Government."¹³ The recommendation embodies the idea of a formal council of majority party policy committees, the President and such "members of his cabinet as may be desirable." From time to time, the minority policy committees would be included in these joint conferences. This appears to be an important procedure for reducing executive-legislative friction when, as now, the President's party is not the majority party in Congress. These joint council meetings should promote harmonious legislative-executive relationships, which are often difficult under our system of division of powers. Here again, the Organization Committee is effecting British parliamentary principles within the American constitutional framework. Each of the four policy committees would receive \$40,000 annually for "maintenance of their secretariats."

The Report recommends an expansion of the Legislative Reference Service for supplying technical assistance to individuals and committees. A further suggestion is made that "each senatorial and congressional office be authorized to employ a high-caliber administrative assistant . . . to assume nonlegislative duties now interfering with the proper study and consideration of national legislation."¹⁴ This proposal is suggested to reduce the non-legislative errand-boy duties which now consume approximately

¹²*Ibid*, p. 12.

¹³*Ibid*, p. 13.

¹⁴*Ibid*, p. 15.

"80 per cent of the average member's time." Suggestions for greatly expanded research and staff facilities represent a significant forward step for Congressional self-improvement.

A special section of the Report deals with the important Appropriations Committees. The recommendation is made that "all appropriations bills be fully and carefully considered by the full Appropriations Committees of both Houses." The Reorganization Committee would abolish the current practice of "holding all appropriation committee hearings in executive or secret sessions." Reports and hearings on appropriations bills would be laid before the two houses at least three legislative days before being considered on the floor. A "uniform appropriations classification" is suggested as a part of the committee hearings and reports. Four staff assistants were suggested for each of the appropriation subcommittees. These professional experts would serve both majority and minority members.

The Committee recommended that the practice of attaching legislation to appropriation bills be discontinued; that the rules be amended to prevent, under the guise of "economy limitations," amendments which are designed to effect legislative changes; and "that the Appropriations Committees study means for limiting any increase in permanent appropriations."¹⁵

The Committee suggested that Congress "experiment" with new meeting schedules to provide alternately three full days for committee meetings and three full days for regular sessions. The Report also recommended that evening sessions be tried as an "experiment."

The Joint Committee heard testimony concerning other changes in the organization and operation of Congress. The Committee listed the following as the most significant:¹⁶

¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 23.

¹⁶*Ibid*, p. 31.

See also: Joint Committee Print, "The Organization of Congress," 79th Congress, 2d. session.

Also: (1) "The Reorganization of Congress," A Report of the Committee on Congress of the American Political Science Association, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1945; (2) Heller, Robert, "Strengthening the Congress" (National Planning Association, Planning Pamphlet No. 39).

1. Selection of committee chairmen by some method other than seniority.
2. The powers of the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives.
3. Experimentation with periods for questioning executive department heads.
4. Limitation of debate in the Senate.

On the above subjects the Committee made no recommendations. It suggested that topics three and four were beyond the scope of authority under the terms of House Concurrent Resolution 18. The Committee members could not reach a workable agreement for recommendations on the other subjects. Differences of opinion prevented recommendations on the feasibility of broadcasting the proceedings of the two houses and committees of Congress.

The positive recommendations of the Joint Committee appear to be commendable techniques for improving the organization and operation of the Congress. Many are significant and fundamental reform procedures in this current era of increasing emphasis upon Congressional government. If Congress is to discharge its post-war duties efficiently it must put its own house in order.

VI.

COMMITTEE REORGANIZATION IN PUBLIC LAW 601

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was signed by the President on August 2, 1946. The Act follows quite closely the basic recommendations of the Joint Committee for Organization of the Congress.

The 33 Senate standing committees are integrated into 15 reorganized committees; the 48 house standing committees are reorganized into 19 committees. At least twelve of the committees in the two houses are identical and the remaining three in the Senate correspond rather closely to House committees. Thus, joint committee sittings are facilitated. Each Senate standing

committee, except the Committee on Appropriations, consists of 13 Senators. The Committee on Appropriations consists of 21 Senators. The membership of the House standing committees varies from nine for the Committee on Un-American Activities to 43 members on the Committee on Appropriations. Nine committees of the House have a membership of 25, the approximate average membership of all committees.

Each standing committee of the Senate may fix the number of its members who shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of such business as may be considered by the committee. This number, however, may not be less than one-third of the entire membership.

"Each Senator shall serve on two standing committees and no more; except that Senators of the majority party who are members of the Committee on the District of Columbia or of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments may serve on three standing committees and no more."¹⁷ Three members of the committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Civil Service, Armed Services, District of Columbia, Public Works and Foreign Relations serve ex-officio on the Committee on Appropriations when the Committee is considering the annual appropriation bill making appropriations for: Department of Agriculture, Post Office Department, Departments of War and Navy, District of Columbia, Rivers and Harbors, Diplomatic and Consular Service, respectively. The three members of each of the above committees are selected by their respective committees. At least one member of each of the above committees must be a member of any conference committee conferring with the House on appropriations within the province of the committee.

The new Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department is of sufficient interest to warrant a brief listing of its

¹⁷Public Law 601, Chapter 753, Title I, Part I, F. 4.

jurisdiction and duties. To this committee is referred all proposed legislation relating to the following subjects:

- (A) Budget and accounting measures, other than appropriations.
- (B) Reorganizations in the executive branch of the Government.

The Committee has the duty of:

- (A) Receiving and examining reports of the Comptroller General of the United States.
- (B) Studying the operation of Government activities with a view to determining its economy and efficiency.
- (C) Evaluating the effect of laws for the purpose of reorganizing the legislative and executive branches of the Government.
- (D) Studying intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities, and between the United States and international organizations of which the United States is a member.

This Committee is provided for in both Houses of Congress; its duties and jurisdiction are identical in both.

Each member of the House may serve on only one standing committee; except that members who are elected to serve on the Committee on the District of Columbia or on the Committee on Un-American Activities may be elected to serve on two standing committees. Members of the majority party who are elected to serve on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments or on the Committee on House Administration may be elected to serve on two standing committees.

The following House committees have leave to report at any time on the corresponding subject matter:¹⁸

COMMITTEE ON RULES on rules, joint rules, and order of business . . . on House administration . . . on right of member to his seat, enrolled bills, on all matters referred to it of printing for use of the House or two Houses, and on all matters of expenditure of the contingent fund of the House.

¹⁸Title I, Section 121, S. 2.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS on bills raising revenue or appropriations . . . on general appropriations bills.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS on bills authorizing the improvement of rivers and harbors.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS on bills for forfeiture of land grants to railroads, and other corporations, bills preventing speculation in the public lands, bills for the reservation of the public lands for the benefit of actual and *bona fide* settlers, and bills for the admission of new States.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS AFFAIRS on general pension bills.

The new Committee on House Administration must make a final report to the House in all contested-election cases "not later than six months from the first day of the regular session of the Congress to which the contestee is elected except in a contest from the Territory of Alaska, in which case the time shall not exceed nine months."

Standing committees (except the Committee on Appropriations) meet to consider bills and resolutions 1. on regular meeting days selected by the Committee; 2. upon the call of the Chairman of the Committee; 3. three members of a standing committee may request a special meeting. If the Chairman refuses or fails to call the special meeting within seven legislative days from the date of the request, a majority of the Committee may decide upon the day and hour for a special meeting. Requests for a special meeting of a committee are filed with the committee clerk.

Each standing committee of House and Senate (except the Committee on Appropriations) must fix regular weekly, biweekly, or monthly meeting days for the transaction of business.

Each committee is directed to keep a complete record of all committee action. Whenever record votes are demanded the vote of each committee member must be included in the report.

Standing committees shall, so far as practicable, "require all witnesses appearing before it to file in advance written statements

of their proposed testimony, and to limit their oral presentations to brief summaries of their argument." Committee staffs are directed to prepare digests of such statements for the use of committee members.

Standing and subcommittee hearings are open to the public except "executive sessions for marking up bills or for voting or where the committee by a majority vote orders an executive session."

The Reorganization Act of 1946 authorizes broad powers to the committees for conducting investigations and holding hearings. But no standing committee, except the Committee on Rules of the House, may sit, without special leave, while the Senate or the House, as the case may be, is in session.

Whenever a disagreement to an amendment in the nature of a substitute has been referred to a conference committee, "it shall be in order for the conferees to report a substitute on the same subject matter; but they may not include in the report matter not committed to them by either House." But in reports the conference committee may include matter which is a "germane modification of subjects in disagreement." Conference reports are subject to points of order if they violate the limitations given above.

A significant duty of standing committees is to exercise continuous legislative oversight over administrative agencies. Each standing committee exercises "watchfulness" over administrative subject matter within its legislative jurisdiction. Committees are required to study pertinent reports submitted to Congress by executive agencies.

In the Senate, controversies as to committee jurisdiction, with respect to proposed legislation, are resolved by the presiding officer of the Senate. Decision is made, without debate, in favor of that committee which has jurisdiction over the subject matter which predominates in such proposed legislation. Decisions by the presiding officer are subject to an appeal.¹⁹

¹⁹The same provisions apply in the House of Representatives.

At the beginning of each Congress the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate meet jointly to consider and to report a legislative budget. This budget, prepared after considering the budget recommendations of the President, includes the estimated over-all Federal receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year.

In both Houses the Committees on Appropriations act jointly to develop a standard appropriation classification schedule "which will clearly define in concise and uniform accounts the subtotals of appropriations asked for by agencies in the executive branch of the Government."

The Committees on Appropriations are directed to make studies of: 1. existing permanent appropriations with a view to limiting the number of permanent appropriations and to recommend to their respective Houses what permanent appropriations, if any, should be discontinued; and 2. the disposition of funds resulting from the sale of Government property or services by all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Government with a view to recommending to their respective Houses a uniform system of control with respect to such funds.

The Senate Committee on Appropriations may not report an appropriations bill which carries amendments proposing new or general legislation. Appropriations bills with amendments not germane to the principal subject matter may not be received by the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Likewise, restrictions, taking effect or ceasing to be effective upon . . . the occurrence of a future contingency, may not be added to a bill submitted to the Committee.

The standing committees of the Senate (also subcommittees) may hold hearings and require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of witnesses or the production of "correspondence, books, papers, and documents." No standing committee of the

House of Representatives, except the Committee on Appropriations, is authorized to subpoena witnesses or conduct investigations.²⁰

The Reorganization Act provides for expanded committee staffs. By majority vote each committee may appoint not more than four professional staff members (except Appropriations Committees) in addition to clerical staffs. The professional staff members are appointed on a permanent basis without regard to political affiliation. Committees on Appropriations may appoint such staff as each committee, by a majority vote, deems to be necessary. The Committee on Appropriations of the House may conduct studies and examination of the organization and operation of any executive agency to assist the Committee to determine matters within its jurisdiction.

The clerical staff of each committee, appointed by majority vote of the committee, "shall consist of not more than six clerks." These clerks are assigned to the office of chairman, to the ranking minority member and to the professional staff as the committee deems advisable.

Persons holding positions in the executive branch may not be appointed to the professional staff of a committee, except with written permission of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate or the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives. No professional staff member is eligible for appointment to any office or position in the executive branch "for a period of one year after he shall have ceased to be such a member."

The Act directly facilitates committee procedure by greatly strengthening the Legislative Reference Service and the office of the Legislative Counsel.

²⁰All modifications of the rules effected by the Act are, of course, subject to changes at the discretion of the respective houses in so far as their own affairs are concerned. (Title I, alters rules of two houses.) However, titles II-V inclusive are not subject to unilateral change by either house.

The Act carries the usual separability clause as a protection against a wholesale declaration of unconstitutionality.

VII.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

In fine, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 effected the following fundamental changes in the committee system of Congress:

1. A substantial reduction in the number and size of standing committees of both Houses.
2. Limitation upon number of committee assignments which members of the House of Representatives and Senate may hold.
3. Certain named standing committees have leave to report at any time on specified subjects.
4. Legislative oversight of administration by standing committees.
5. Jurisdiction of standing committees is more clearly defined.
6. Limitations are placed on the power of conference committees to alter or add to the subject matter of bills in controversy.
7. Provision for professional staffs for committees.
8. Expansion of clerical staffs of committees.
9. Expansion of the Legislative Reference Service and the office of the Legislative Counsel for giving assistance to committees.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 embodies the basic recommendations for committee organization and procedure found in the Report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress.

The reduction and consolidation of standing committees is a forward step for Congressional self-improvement.

The Act provides, in its substantive law titles, for expanded study and research facilities.²¹ Professional staffs for each of the standing committees should increase the efficiency of Congress in dealing with complex, technical subjects of legislation. In addition to these new tools for the "workshops of Congress," the Legislative Reference Service and the Legislative Counsel are given opportunities for expanded activities.

²¹Titles II-V, Public Law 601.

Even though the Legislative Reorganization Act marks a significant step forward in legislative self-improvement, several evils are still outstanding. Limitations on the opportunity for filibuster in the Senate are conspicuously absent. The Rules Committee in the House of Representatives is still virtually unlimited in its powers. The seniority rule for committee chairmanships is not effected by the Act.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, although not as broad in scope as might have been expected, has effected significant changes in the committee system. The reorganized "workshops of Congress" should expedite both the legislative and non-legislative functions of that body. The Act marks a definite point of departure for future reorganization of the Congress of the United States; its provisions assume added importance in this period of Congressional government by the Eightieth Congress.

An Analysis of Changes in the Relative Importance of Member Bank Loan and Security Income

HAROLD A. DULAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

Prior to 1943, member banks in the United States relied upon interest and discount on loans for the largest portion of their total current operating earnings. Since 1943, however, interest and dividends on securities have contributed the largest percentage of total current earnings.

The major reasons for this decline in the importance of loan income are well-known. For many years banks relied primarily on commercial loans for their earning assets. However, early in the twenties the larger corporations began a policy of financing their working capital requirements out of retained earnings and the sale of additional securities, and, until the recent war period, they consistently followed the policy of borrowing less from banks. This policy is still being continued except for a recent trend among very large corporations such as General Electric¹ to borrow large sums for an intermediate term of about five years. During this period of the twenties rapid and widespread improvement in transportation and communication facilities gave rise to the large-scale development of hand-to-mouth buying in industry and trade with a resulting decline in the size of normal inventories. Thus, commercial concerns and manufacturing companies were able to operate efficiently with a small inventory, thereby reducing working capital needs. Also, during the early thirties business activity was so low that there was little need for commercial loans on a large scale. The sharp decline in security values following the stock market crash in 1929 forced the liquidation of many loans

¹In the latter part of November, 1946, General Electric arranged a private financing program providing for \$150,000,000, 20 year, 2.55% loans from 11 insurance companies and three trustees and \$50,000,000, 5/8%, five year loans from company depository banks.

for purchasing or carrying securities. After 1933, additional government agencies arose to compete with banks for loans, especially in the agricultural field.

As a result of these developments, income from loans has declined significantly in importance as an income factor for banks. It is true that during the recent war period banks participated with the Government in financing loans in aid of war production, but the amount so loaned was not sufficient to change materially the relative importance of commercial loans. Whereas in 1920, customer loans for all member banks in the United States amounted to \$19,555,000,000, by 1932, they had declined to \$15,204,000,000 and after still further declines had by 1938, recovered to only \$13,208,000,000. Aided generally by the impetus given industrial and agricultural production by the war and specifically by the emergency loan provisions promulgated to facilitate war production, total loans of member banks reached \$20,588,000,000 in June, 1945, and by June, 1946, \$23,302,000,000. However, by this latter date the enormous rise in security holdings had so increased total earning assets that this important rise in the aggregate amount of loans was of little significance.

Both the decline in the ratio of customer loans to total earning assets from 76.6 per cent in 1920 to 22.8 per cent in June, 1946, and the decline in the ratio of customer loans to total deposits from 81.1 per cent in 1920 to 19.0 per cent in June, 1946 further illustrate the extent of the relative decline in the importance of loan investment for all member banks in the United States.

The accompanying chart shows the extent of this decline in the importance of loan income and shows the extent of the decline in the importance of loan income in contrast to the rise in the importance of security income for the period 1927-1944.

Although loan income declined in importance from 65.2 per cent of total current earnings in 1929 to 30.1 per cent in 1944, the trend was not steadily downward throughout the entire period. Three distinct stages in the trend are apparent. From 1927 to 1936, loan income declined sharply in importance, but from 1936

SELECTED SOURCES OF INCOME AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL CURRENT EARNINGS
 FOR ALL MEMBER BANKS IN THE UNITED STATES* (1927 - 1944)
 AND ELEVENTH FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT (1939 - 1944)



* SOURCE: BANKING AND MONETARY STATISTICS, BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

to 1941, there was a moderate reversal of the trend. However, in the latter stage — that is, 1941 to 1944 — the trend was again sharply downward. Thus the first and third stages were characterized by sharp declines whereas, the intermediate or second stage was characterized by a moderate rise.

Table No. One contains an analysis of the variation in total amount of income from both loans and securities for each of the three stages and for the entire period broken down into the causes of the variation. A study of this table, together with the chart, should, therefore, give a sound basis for understanding just what has happened to these two important income sources for all member banks in the United States since 1927, and should help to indicate what may be expected from these income sources in the future.

This obvious decline in the relative importance of loan income is the result of several causes. In addition to a decline in the aggregate amount of bank loan investment there has been an enormous increase in the aggregate amount of bank total earning assets. Thus, the relative importance of loans to total earning assets has declined. Likewise, there has been a consistent downward pressure on the rate of return on loans, particularly agricultural loans.

TABLE 1. AN ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF THE VARIATION
IN THE AMOUNT OF SELECTED IMPORTANT SOURCES OF
INCOME FOR ALL MEMBER BANKS IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1927-1944
(Millions of Dollars)

	Variation	Variation	Variation	Variation	Percent of Total Variation
	1927-1936	1936-1941	1941-1944	1927-1944	1927-1944
1. Interest and Discount on Loans					100%
Decrease in the Rate of Return on Loans	-\$741	+\$152	-\$102	-\$691	60%
Decrease in the Total Amount of Loans	-\$188	-\$ 27	-\$126	-\$417	40%
Increase in the Total Amount on Loans	-\$563	+\$179	+\$ 24	-\$274	
	-\$741	+\$152	-\$102	-\$691	100%
2. Interest and Dividends on Securities					100%
Decrease in Rate of Return on Securities	+\$ 29	-\$ 42	+\$515	+\$502	451%
Increase in Total Amount of Securities	-\$381	-\$187	-\$314	-\$2262	551%
Totals	+\$410	+\$145	+\$829	+\$2764	100%
	+\$ 29	-\$ 42	+\$515	+\$ 502	

The decline in loan income as a percentage of total current earnings from 65.2 per cent in 1929 to 40.4 per cent in 1936 undoubtedly reflected the widespread liquidation of loans after 1929. As shown in the table, \$553,000,000 of the \$741,000,000 decline in interest and discount on loans during the period 1927-1936 was the result of a decrease in the total amount of loans. Although loans from all sources declined importantly during this period, loans on securities showed the greatest decline. From \$10,425,000,000 in June, 1930, at which time they represented 41 per cent of total loans of member banks, security loans declined to \$4,195,000,000 in December, 1936, or only 31 per cent of total member bank loans. In conjunction with the downward force exerted by this important decline in loans from all categories, there was an upward force on the importance of security income as the total amount of income from securities increased. During this period, as shown in Table No. One, the net difference between the growth of aggregate security investment and the decline in the rate of return on securities resulted in a net increase of \$29,000,000 in the total amount of income from security investment.

The moderate rise in the importance of loan income from 1936 to 1941 resulted from an increase of \$179,000,000 in the total amount of loans and a decline in the importance of security income. Interestingly, as shown in Table No. One, this decline in the importance of security income occurred because the increase in security income resulting from the increase in security holdings was more than offset by the decline in income from total security investment as a result of a decline in the rate of return on securities.

During the last stage, that is, from 1941 to 1944, the deciding factor in the decline in the importance of loan income was unquestionably the overwhelming increase in the total amount of securities held by banks. It is well known that the amount of this increase was enormous, but the extent to which the decline in the rate of return on securities exerted a governing force over the

effect of these increased investments on the total earnings of the banks is very enlightening.

There is no doubt but that the increase in security investment has been the most deciding factor in the change in the relative importance of the two sources of income. However, the decline in the rate of return, both on loans and on securities, has played a very significant role in modulating the spread in the percentage of total current earnings contributed by each of these sources. In fact, this decline in the rate of return on loans has been so important that approximately 60 per cent of the variation in aggregate loan income throughout this period was the direct result of the decline in the rate of return on loan investment. On the other hand, as indicated in Table No. One, had the rate of return on security investment not declined, income from this source would have shown over five times as much increase as banks actually received. Such an increase in security income would have been sufficient to further decrease the percentage of income received from loan investment.

There is sound reason to believe that this decline in the importance of customer loans is not merely a temporary condition but is a basic change and as a result of this change banks are faced with important policy and managerial decisions. Whether permanently or not, banks have shifted from the status of short-term lending agencies to that of investing institutions. The extent to which investing continues to dominate bank operations in contrast to the previous loan activity will depend considerably upon the aggressiveness and efficiency with which banks engage in new types of lending.

Some consideration relative to the meaning of these changes and what banks might do to meet them successfully will be discussed after specific consideration is given to both a comparison of loan trends for member banks in the Eleventh Federal Reserve District and in the United States and a comparison of important trends between banks of various deposit size in the Eleventh Federal Reserve District.

Whereas for all member banks in the United States, by 1943 security income had become more important than loan income, this change did not occur in the Eleventh District until 1944, that is, one year later. The importance of agricultural loans in the Eleventh Federal Reserve District has in the past influenced banks, especially country banks, to rely upon loans for income and virtually to ignore security investment. The strength of this policy probably accounts in large measure for this lag.

The spread in the percentage of income obtained from these two sources for all member banks in the Eleventh District has been more pronounced in recent years than the spread in these percentages for all member banks in the United States. However, by 1944 this situation was reversed since the percentage of income received from securities and from loans for all member banks in the United States was 50 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively, in contrast to 42 per cent and 38 per cent, respectively, for member banks in the Eleventh District. Regardless of the relative magnitude of the spread, the trend is unmistakably the same and shows conclusively that member banks in the Eleventh Federal Reserve District as well as all member banks in the United States are relying more and more upon investment income rather than loan income.

Table No. Two shows the importance of this decline in loan volume to banks of various deposit size in the Eleventh Federal Reserve District. The size classification, that is, according to the total deposits for each bank as of the end of the year, conforms very closely with the customary deposit size group classification used on the schedule of member bank operating ratios published annually by the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas.

TABLE 2. RATIO OF TOTAL LOANS TO TOTAL DEPOSITS
OF MEMBER BANKS IN THE ELEVENTH FEDERAL
RESERVE DISTRICT BY SIZE GROUPS
1939-1944*

Bank Deposit Size Group	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Under \$250,000	48.3%	60.1%	52.1%	36.8%	36.3%	33.1%
\$250,000-\$499,999	41.0	51.5	43.5	36.4	36.9	29.3
\$500,000-\$999,999	35.3	45.1	41.3	31.2	30.3	29.2
\$1,000,000-\$1,999,999	32.5	37.3	36.1	26.8	26.3	24.2
\$2,000,000-\$4,999,999	30.4	33.1	31.4	24.9	22.8	21.5
\$5,000,000-\$9,999,999	29.1	30.6	29.0	18.2	15.3	16.8
\$10,000,000-\$24,999,999	30.2	30.1	29.5	17.5	15.6	15.4
\$25,000,000-\$49,999,999	24.2	26.8	22.9	17.4	14.9	11.6
\$50,000,000 and above	35.3	35.3	36.0	20.8	18.7	18.4
Total District	31.5%	33.3%	32.2%	20.9%	18.7%	18.0%

*The percentages in this table were obtained from a study made by the author while he was Financial Economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas.

The decline in the ratio of total loans to total deposits for member banks in the Eleventh District from 31.5 per cent in 1939 to 18.0 per cent in 1944 reflects failure of the growth in loan volume to keep pace with the growth in deposit volume and indicates that banks were tending either to maintain a more liquid position or were investing their deposits in other media. Since the ratio of earning assets to total deposits for this same period increased from 58.4 per cent to 68.4 per cent, it is obvious that emphasis was given investment rather than liquidity. Furthermore, the rise in the ratio of total security holdings to total deposits from 26.9 per cent to 50.4 per cent for this same period indicates the extent to which investment activity shifted to securities. Of course, had the rate of return on loans rise or remained at a high level while the rate of return on security investment declined, the spread between these rates of return might have been wide enough to compensate for the decline in loan volume, with the result that the relative importance of one source of income as against the other would not have been changed. However, such a compensating spread in the rates of return on these two investment sources did not materialize. Instead, both the rate of return on loan investment and the rate of return on security investment declined. For member banks in the Eleventh

District the former rate declined from 5.4 per cent in 1939 to 3.4 per cent in 1944 and the latter rate declined from 2.5 per cent to 1.3 per cent over the same period.

For banks of all sizes, loans have declined in their relative importance to other bank earning assets. This decline in loans has been accompanied by a significant rise in the relative importance of security investments. However, the rise in the ratio of total security holdings from 26.9 per cent to 50.4 per cent for all member banks in the Eleventh Federal Reserve District does not sufficiently indicate the difference in the degree of acceptance of this trend by the managements of small banks. Detailed analysis of data by size of bank discloses that for banks with deposits under \$250,000 this ratio rose only from 19.9 per cent in 1939 to 30.6 per cent in 1944, and for banks with deposits from \$1,000,000 to \$1,999,999 the ratio rose only from 28.7 per cent to 39.3 per cent for the same period. This relatively slight increase in the ratio for the smaller banks indicates the reluctance with which the management of these banks were increasing their security investments as loan volume declined and deposits increased. Furthermore, the cost to the smaller banks of refusing to raise their ratio of earning assets to total deposits is reflected in the decline of the ratio of net profit after taxes to total capital accounts. For banks with deposits under \$250,000 this ratio declined from 6.0 per cent in 1939 to 3.6 per cent in 1944, whereas in banks with deposits over \$50,000,000 this same ratio declined only from 9.4 per cent to 9.0 per cent.

For banks in all deposit sizes the proportion of total deposits invested in loans declined for the period 1939-1944; however, the rate of decline varied considerably. In some of the largest deposit size groups the ratio was cut in half, while for the smallest deposit size group the ratio declined only from 48.3 per cent to 33.1 per cent.

Since the smaller banks have not been investing in government securities but are now tending to do so, it is obvious that the officers of the smaller banks will be faced with the problems

of security investment in increasing degree. Since these men in the smaller banks, strictly speaking, have in the past devoted the major portion of their time to loan prospect analysis, a shift in emphasis, together with considerable study and training, will be necessary before these men can be expected to feel at home in the national security markets.

For the larger banks this increased importance of security income should not bring with it any particular handicap with respect to security investment. For a number of years now the larger banks have actively engaged in security portfolio construction not only for themselves and clients of the Trust Department, but also, in many instances, for their correspondent banks. The problem for the larger banks relative to the growth in importance of security holdings will center in the broader issues of interest rate changes, rate of return on earning assets, risk factors and portfolio diversification.

In addition to the customary short-term loans, aggressive banks are placing particular emphasis on securing other types of loans, mostly of a medium or long-term nature. Principally, these represent personal loans for consumer durable goods, loans for housing and renovation, and inventory and equipment loans to small business. During the latter part of 1946 there has been a marked growth in medium term loans to large businesses.

To the extent that this loan demand develops, banks must be prepared to accommodate it. The reasons are quite obvious. First, banks have a social obligation to provide funds for all worthy loans. Second, the higher rate of return on loan investment means enhanced earnings. Third, any sizable increase in loans tends to improve portfolio diversification. Last but very important, the aggressive acceptance by commercial banks of their responsibility as loaning institutions is a safeguard against further expansion of government agencies in the loan field.

The Cigarette in the United States

EUGENE O. PORTER

COLLEGE OF MINES AND METALLURGY

There are several legends concerning the origin of the modern cigarette. There is one to the effect that the American West got its taste for this form of smoking from the Mexicans and that the habit spread generally eastward where it received a new impetus from the manufacturers of Turkish and other imported tobaccos.¹ Another legend states that the use of cigarettes was first noticed among the students of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute which was patronized extensively by Cubans and South Americans.² There are legends to the effect that the cigarette was invented by the Turks³ and that cigarette smoking was common in Turkey, Russia, and the Levant where British travelers encountered the habit and carried it to England and thence to the United States.⁴ But a more wide-spread belief and one more commonly accepted by recent writers is that British soldiers in their intercourse with French and Italian troops during the Crimean War began to follow the examples of their allies and learned to make cigarettes.⁵ The British Army, "Light Brigade and all, brought the fashion home as its chief trophy from the Valley of Death and the Jaws of Hell, while the Russians took up the new fad to ease their pangs of defeat."⁶

But regardless of the many legends, it would seem that the modern cigarette—that is, tobacco enclosed in a paper tube—is a Spanish adoption of the Latin American original. It is known for a certainty that Columbus found Indians smoking

¹Editorial, *Harper's Weekly*, 17 September, 1910.

²Hubbell, Charles Bulkey, "The Cigarette Habit—A New Peril," in *The Independent*, 18 February, 1904.

³Flannagan, Roy C., *The Story of Lucky Strikes* (no publisher data, 1938), 4.

⁴Fisher, Robert Lewis, *The Odyssey of Tobacco* (Litchfield, Conn.: The Prospect Press, 1939), 77.

⁵Young, William W., *The Story of the Cigarette* (New York: Appleton, 1916), 7.

⁶Lloyd Lewis in the *Chicago Sun*, 22 July, 1945.

crude and primitive cigarettes — tobacco wrapped in the leaves of maize or Indian corn; and even today in all of Latin America, the pipe is a rarity, the inevitable *cigarro de papel* or *papelito* being constantly in use. The Spaniards transplanted the tobacco plant along with the smoking habit to their mother country where the *papelito* was soon adopted by all classes of society. As early as the last quarter of the 18th century, Casanova in his *Memoirs* made mention of the popular use of the cigarette in Spain. There is a Spanish proverb to the effect that a paper cigarette, a glass of water, and the kiss of a pretty girl will sustain a man for a day without eating.⁷ The word "cigarette" is, of course, of French origin. It is a diminutive of "cigar" which in turn is derived from the Spanish *cigarro*, itself a diminutive, meaning "little garden." In Spain almost every family had its little garden of tobacco.

The earliest date at which the cigarette penetrated northward from Spain is not recorded but it is very likely that French soldiers carried it in their knapsacks as they retreated before Wellington's army.⁸ The earliest references to the cigarette in the Oxford dictionary are dated 1842 and 1843. The earlier reference is taken from a book by L. S. Costello who wrote that "The habit of smoking cigarettes is quite *le grande mode* of late with certain French ladies." The other reference is taken from a book by a Mrs. Romer. Writing of her travels in France and Italy, Mrs. Romer stated that "The beggars in the streets have paper cigars (called cigarettes) in their mouths." Certainly the wording of these statements would seem to show that the cigarette was not then generally familiar to the English people. According to a French authority cigarettes were smoked for a long time in France but it was not until 1864 that they were manufactured

⁷Fairholt, F. W., *Tobacco: Its History and Association Including An Account of the Plant and Its Manufacture; With Its Modes of Use in All Ages and Countries* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857), 216.

⁸*Chamber's Encyclopaedia* (London, 1897), Art. "Tobacco," states that French soldiers brought the habit of smoking cigarettes from Spain early in the 19th century.

commercially.⁹ Thus it appears safe to conclude that the cigarette, originating in Latin America, was adopted by the Spaniards¹⁰ and named by the French who popularized it throughout Europe. And the medium of this popularization, many writers are agreed, was the Crimean War.¹¹

Returning home after the war, "the dapper British officers, the idols of the day," continued to make and smoke cigarettes. Naturally many smokers in England, considering it the smart thing to do, began to follow their example, and before long cigarette smoking became the fashion. Americans soon brought the new form of smoking home from London and, about 1866, manufacturers in both England and the United States began to cater to cigarette smokers.¹²

The rapidity with which the cigarette habit spread should not be exaggerated, however. The Englishman F. W. Fairholt, writing in 1859, three years after the close of the Crimean War, went into great detail to describe the cigarette which he considered a "peculiar innovation" of the Spaniards.¹³ And an American, E. R. Billings, writing as late as 1875 and speaking of cigarette smoking in Cuba, stated, "To the New Yorker it looks curious to see a great, bearded man smoking a tiny cigarette."¹⁴

⁹*La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris: H. Lamerault et C. Editeurs, 1885) V. XI, Art. "Cigarette." This article states, "Pendant longtemps on n'a connu que les cigarette que les fumeurs faisaient eux-mêmes, d'ordinaire en les roulant entre leurs doigts, parfois en se servant de petits moules spéciaux formes d'une toile et de rouleaux. Vers 1864 on commença à fabriquer les cigarettes dans les manufactures françaises."

¹⁰Count Corti, *A History of Smoking* (London: George G. Harrys & Co., 1931), 23 insists that the Spaniards adopted the cigarette from the Latin Americans and that from Spain the "new device found its way slowly into the neighboring countries."

¹¹*Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Art* (London), Sixth Series, V. 11, 1899, pp. 55-7, states that "The practice of cigarette smoking developed in England almost entirely after the Crimean War."

¹²Young, *op. cit.*, 7-8.

¹³Fairholt, *op. cit.*, 214.

¹⁴Billings, E. R., *Tobacco: Its History, Variety, Cultures, Manufacture, and Commerce; An Account of its Various Modes of Use From Its Discovery Until Now* (Hartford, Conn: American Publishing Co., 1875), 266.

kinds of tobacco grown in the United States before the Civil War but the two most important were, first, the dark, heavy export tobacco, full of nicotine and creosote, cured often by air alone but more generally by smoke and open wood fire; and second, the red or mahogany grades, cured in the sun or by coal fires. But these tobaccos were not suitable for cigarettes, being too strong and also being without capacity for absorbing sweetening and flavoring sauces. Another type had been accidentally discovered in 1852 when Eli and Elisha Slade of Caswell County, North Carolina, curing some tobacco by fire, found that the product was a bright yellow leaf. Investigation showed it to be a new type of plant, grown only in sandy, siliceous soil.²⁰ During the Civil War, however, tobacco crops were largely neglected in the South. Finally, with the introduction of the cigarette and the demand for a mild tobacco, the bright yellow leaf became one of the most popular types of tobacco grown.

There were also other factors which contributed to increasing the popular demand for cigarettes by reducing the cost of tobacco. These factors were the extending use of commercial fertilizers, the introduction of improved methods of curing, the renewal and extension of railroads, the publication of books and pamphlets on tobacco culture, and the lowering of federal taxes. The average tax for all grades of tobacco in 1871 was 26.87 cents a pound. In 1875 the average tax was reduced to 21.10 cents. It was further reduced in 1880 to 16 cents and in 1884 to 8 cents.²¹

Finally, it should be noted, the extensive advertising campaigns engaged in by the tobacco "trusts" greatly aided in popularizing the cigarette, not only in the United States but throughout the world. The American Tobacco Company, organized in 1890, was able to produce a very acceptable grade of cigarettes at a reasonably low price and this fact was heralded everywhere.²² In En-

²⁰Jenkins, *op. cit.*, 62.

²¹Arnold, B. W., *History of the Tobacco Industry in Virginia From 1860 to 1894* (John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences, January-February 1897), 32.

²²*Ibid.*, 36.

gland it was the Americans who were responsible for the little packets of ten or a dozen which were retailed in the first instance at from sixpence to a shilling.²³

At this time it should be pointed out that during the colonial period and down to about 1870, the *per capita* consumption of tobacco in the United States tended to decrease. For example, the annual *per capita* consumption in 1790 was 7.43 pounds whereas in 1870 it was only 1.78 pounds.²⁴ The cause for this declining use may be explained partly by fashion changes. Pipe smoking was placed more or less under a social ban as polite society came to frown upon a habit that had become almost universal among the working class; and the taking of snuff, pipe smoking, and chewing, the principal modes of use during this period, became less fashionable for women. In addition, economic and religious pressure favored thrift and decried the use of tobacco as a wasteful habit. Thus as the 19th century grew older, more and more people were becoming non-tobacco users. And then came the cigarette. The rapidity with which it became popular in the United States, once the factors mentioned above were exploited, may be seen in the following annual production figures as reported by the Bureau of Internal Revenue:²⁵

1869.....	1,750,000. ²⁶
1870.....	13,890,000.
1880.....	408,708,000.
1890.....	2,233,254,000.
1900.....	2,639,899,000.
1910.....	7,874,239,000.
1914.....	16,427,085,000.

²³Anon. "Confessions of a Cigarette Smoker," in *Chamber's Journal*, Sixth Series, V. VI, 1906, p. 6. The writer of this article claimed that the Americans had already spent "a million and a half in an effort to capture the English market."

²⁴Holmes, George K., *Tobacco Crop in the United States, 1612-1911* (Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Statistics, 1912), Circular 33, p. 4. See also Jacobstein, *op. cit.*, 5.

²⁵Cited by Young, *op. cit.*, 115.

²⁶Cigarettes were first classified by the government for internal revenue purposes in the fiscal year 1869.

There are several reasons why the cigarette did not become immediately popular. In the first place, the cigarette paper as it is known today was not developed until about the middle of the 19th century. Previously, even in France and Spain, cigarette smokers provided their own paper and many often rolled their tobacco in the leaves of corn. The first paper was manufactured during the 1850's by the old established Maudit Mill situated in Quirnerli, France.¹⁵ A little later the *Papier Abadie*, manufactured in Paris, became popular and later still a paper called *Papier Persan* likewise became popular.¹⁶ Another reason that the cigarette habit did not become immediately wide-spread was that each smoker was compelled to roll his own. As pointed out above, it was not until 1864 that cigarettes were first manufactured commercially in France, at about the same time their manufacture was begun in England. But these were comparatively expensive, being either hand-rolled or table-rolled. In either case the average worker could not produce more than 2000 cigarettes a day.¹⁷ In 1875, however, a young Virginian named James Bonsack invented a machine that could manufacture 100,000 cigarettes daily. The new machine was leased to companies on a royalty basis and before long small plants situated in Virginia, North Carolina, and New York City were turning out cigarettes in the hundreds of thousands. There were other such machines, especially the Emery and Allison, but the Bonsack was by far the most successful.¹⁸

Possibly the most important factor in popularizing the cigarette was the development of the bright yellow leaf tobacco. In fact, one writer states that the invention of the cigarette-making machine coupled with the development of the bright yellow leaf was the foundation of the cigarette business.¹⁹ There were several

¹⁵Werner, Carl Avery, *Tobacco Land* (New York: The Tobacco Leaf Publishing Co., 1922), 281.

¹⁶*Chamber's Journal*, etc, 26 September, 1868.

¹⁷*Idem*.

¹⁸Jenkins, John W., *James B. Duke: Master Builder* (New York: George H. Doran & Co., 1927), 68.

¹⁹Young, *op. cit.*, p. 12. See also Meyer Jacobstein, *The Tobacco Industry in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907), 5.

But the cigarette was hardly launched before it was under attack. It is true of course that the many temperance societies in the United States had included the general use of tobacco in their condemnation. The Band of Hope²⁷ tried with pledges and songs to entice small boys away from the tobacco habit, one of the more martial battle hymns being:²⁸

We're coming, we're coming
Our bright little band.
On the right side of Temperance
We now take our stand.
We don't use tobacco
And we also think
That the boys who'd use tobacco
Would also use drink.

And multitudes of children were taught to lisp the poetic pledge taken by little Robert Reed:²⁹

"I'll never use tobacco, no;
It is a filthy weed:
I'll never put it in my mouth,"
Said little Robert Reed.
"It hurts the health;
It makes bad breath;
'Tis very bad indeed.
I'll never, never use it, no."
Said little Robert Reed.

With the advent of the cigarette, however, a veritable crusade developed in opposition to it. There were reformers zealous as was the headmaster who decried juvenile cigarette smoking as the root of all evil. He described

How they who use fusees
All grow by slow degrees
Brainless as chimpanzees,
Meagre as lizards;

Go mad, and beat their wives;
Plunge (after smoking lives)
Razors and carving knives
Into their gizzards.³⁰

²⁷For the story of the Band of Hope and other temperance societies, see Eugene O. Porter. "An Outline of the Temperance Movement," in the *Historian*, Autumn 1944.

²⁸Lloyd Lewis in the *Chicago Sun*, 22 July, 1945.

²⁹*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, July 1880, p. 320.

³⁰*The Saturday Review* (London), 18 October, 1902.

One such reformer was Miss Lucy Page Gaston of Chicago who began an anti-cigarette campaign in 1897. Prior to that date she had devoted considerable time to the subject but later she gave all of her attention to the work. In 1899 she established a local and in 1901 a national anti-cigarette league, the first of many such societies that were to be organized in the following years. Miss Gaston was indefatigable in her efforts to stamp out the cigarette and in more than 600 cases she went into court to prosecute violations of the municipal ordinances against the sale of cigarettes to minors.³¹

These anti-cigarette societies not only tried to enforce city ordinances against the cigarette but also sponsored speakers in schools and churches and published innumerable books and pamphlets describing the evils of the cigarette habit. The pamphlets are of interest today only because of the many ridiculous charges made therein. For instance, in a pamphlet issued by the Inter-State Narcotic Association of Chicago we read that "John has a fair chance of become a Lincoln" but "John is sent to the Psychopatic Hospital" after developing the cigarette habit. We do not learn if John recovers because "When this booklet went to press, John was still in the Psychopathic Hospital, undergoing observation to determine whether or not his mind could be freed of its tobacco poisoning. The physician holds out some hope." Another pamphlet, "Why Boys Should Not Smoke," published in London by Thomas Cartwright and commended by Major General Baden-Powell, exclaimed, "Look at the sallow face and the lean and stunted figure of the young man, who when a boy, was a cigarette smoker. He is like a broken man. If he looks down from a height he becomes dizzy. And how stooped and lazy he is. He seems a regular loafer. The least thing makes his limbs tremble and his heart beat. Such is the evil work of the cigarette upon the tender frame of growing lads." Another reformer, writing in the *Journal of Inebriety* in 1912, described the escape of a youth from capital punishment because he smoked cigarettes. "The upright judge charged the jury that the prisoner was deranged."

³¹Gray, H. S., "The Boy and the Cigarette Habit," in *Education*, January 1909, pp. 294-315.

In addition to the professional reformers there was a large number of prominent men and women who attacked the cigarette. Elbert Hubbard was quoted as saying that "Cigarette-smokers are men whose future lies behind them."³² Charles Dudley Warner was quoted to the effect that he would be sure that tobacco was the root of all evil if it were not for the high proficiency that the Romans finally obtained without its aid.³³ David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Leland Stanford, Jr., University, exclaimed that "Boys who smoke cigarettes are like wormy apples that fall from the tree before they are ripe."³⁴ Judge Ben Lindsey, speaking of criminal delinquency, stated that "The cigarette habit not only had a grip upon them in boyhood, but it invited all the other demons of habit to come in and add to the degradation that the cigarette began."³⁵ Mr. Henry Ford in a pamphlet titled "The Case Against the Little White Slaver" which he published in 1914, wrote: "The youth whose brain is fogged by cigarettes is hopelessly handicapped. His services are accepted as a last resort." And Elinor Glyn who is credited with giving a sex meaning to the word "It," was quoted as saying that "every smoke is a tiny drop of old age, so small that for a long time it is unnoticed."³⁶

Naturally all of this criticism had its effect. State legislatures enacted laws against the cigarette and many business firms refused to employ cigarette smokers. Indiana and Wisconsin in 1904 were the first states to pass anti-cigarette legislation. Then followed in 1905 Missouri, Nebraska, Illinois, and Michigan and in 1909, Iowa and Minnesota. By 1910, there was hardly a state in the Union which had not some kind of anti-cigarette legislation. None of the eastern states attempted to do more than prohibit the sale of cigarettes to children under 16³⁷ but some of the

³²Quoted in an editorial, *Harper's Weekly*, 12 August, 1905.

³³*Idem*.

³⁴Quoted by H. S. Gray, *loc. cit.*

³⁵Quoted by Young, *op. cit.*, 249.

³⁶Quoted by Jesse Mercer Gehman, *Smoke Over America* (Patterson, N. J. Becoma Publishing House, 1943), 161.

³⁷Editorial, *Harper's Weekly*, 17 September, 1910.

western states went to extremes. Indiana, for instance, forbade "any person to manufacture, sell, or give away or keep for sale, cigarettes, cigarette papers, or cigarette wrappers, or to be in anyway concerned in owning or keeping cigarettes, cigarette papers or wrappers." Commenting editorially upon the Indiana law, *The Outlook* stated that "such an act . . . does much more harm than it can possibly do good, for it tends to arouse the American spirit of independence against law and so promote the spirit of lawlessness."³⁸

Among the business firms which placed a taboo upon the cigarette were the John Wanamaker Company, Philadelphia, the Larkin Company, Buffalo, the Globe-Wernicke Company, Cincinnati, Montgomery and Ward, and Sears Roebuck. Each of these companies refused to employ boys and young men under 21 who were "addicted to the cigarette habit."³⁹ Moreover, as early as 1904, the city of Chicago had an organization of business men who were pledged not to give employment to any boy or man who smoked cigarettes or "who had the inhaling habit."⁴⁰ There were also several railroads which refused to employ cigarette-smokers.⁴¹

Many reformers, both professionals and amateurs, tried merely to prove that cigarettes were harmful for boys and in making their point they generally compared the school grades of the smokers and non-smokers.⁴² Often whenever they found a boy who was stupid, neurotic, a degenerate, a delinquent, or a criminal and also a cigarette smoker, they attributed his condition and his misdoings wholly or almost wholly to cigarettes.⁴³

The more rabid reformers condemned the cigarette wrapper as being impure or as being "doped" with opium or some other narcotic in order to foster the cigarette habit.⁴⁴ This group also

³⁸11 March 1905.

³⁹Gray, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰Hubbell, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹Editorial, *Harper's Weekly*, 12 August, 1905.

⁴²*American Magazine*, November 1910, pp. 140-1. See also *Education*, November 1907, pp. 154-60.

⁴³Gray, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴Editorial, *Scientific American*, 5 May, 1894. This article condemned the charge that a cigarette paper was impure.

condemned the cigarette for one and all on the grounds that it bred the inhaling habit which, they insisted, was the foundation of all the evils that accompanied indulgence in this vice. These reformers agreed with the Oxford poet who wrote:⁴⁵

Nuper est extinctus, Jones
Causa mortis, Cigarette.

From the very beginning, however, the reformers fought a losing battle, as may be seen from the annual production figures given above. Not only were more men using cigarettes each year but before World War I, women in increasing numbers were smoking the regular brands and sizes as well as miniature cigarettes.⁴⁶ Then came the war and the reformers' attempt to identify the cigarette with decadence ran into a stone wall. Trench warfare with its attendant strains upon the nerves made the cigarette, in the words of General Pershing, "as indispensable as the daily ration." With this pronouncement the number of cigarette smokers greatly increased. For every 15 cigarettes smoked in the United States in 1913 there were 60 smoked in 1927 and in 1931 there were 105. The value of cigarettes smoked during 1910 was \$25,271,446 while in 1919 the value had increased to \$379,125,710.

World War II gave further impetus to the cigarette habit. During 1946, more than 351 billion cigarettes were manufactured in the United States—an all-time high. Allowing for 30 billion exported, these figures meant an average consumption of 2,293, or two packs a week, for every American, including grandmamas and infants.⁴⁷ Thus the cigarette which had been popularized by one war was elevated to the status of respectability by another and made a universal habit by a third. To quote Mr. Lloyd Lewis, "taboos in general have toppled under the impact of war," for "war crowds man ever to the left."⁴⁸

In conclusion it may be well to repeat that the *per capita* consumption of tobacco in the United States was rapidly decreasing until the advent of the cigarette. All attempts to outlaw the

⁴⁵*The Saturday Review*, 18 October, 1902.

⁴⁶*Harper's Weekly*, 17 Sep., 1910.

⁴⁷*United Nations World*, Apr. 1947.

⁴⁸*Chicago Sun*, 22 July, 1945.

new device ended in failure and even today the state and municipal laws which prohibit their sale to minors are seldom enforced. In other words, The United States has become a nation of cigarette-smokers.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

John M. Gaus, *Reflections on Public Administration*. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1947, pp. 153. \$2.00.)

This small book is the fruit of a series of lectures given at the University of Alabama as part of the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration. Both the choice of the lecturer and the interpretative task assigned to him mark the high standard of achievement which Roscoe Martin and his associates have set for their program. In a time when technological specialization so insidiously fosters intellectual illiteracy among professionals, men like John Gaus stand out as sorely needed sources of insight and understanding. His readers will admire once more his range of thought, regretting only that the excursion into constructive analysis did not last longer.

The distinctive characteristic of the book is breadth of inquiry. An introduction into the ecology of government is followed by a discussion of the interrelations of politics and administration. Attention is then turned to the processes of policy and administration, the values of devolution and federation, and the purposes and methods of control. The concluding essay outlines a conceptual framework of government action in terms of diagnosis, policy, and revision.

Gaus rightly insists that further progress in public administration requires "a clearer theory of government" (p. 149). Such a theory must accommodate the interplay of several basic factors like "people, place, physical technology, social technology, wishes and ideas, catastrophe, and personality" (p. 9). Without minimizing the great significance of administrative integrity and ability (p. 28), the author reminds us of the policy-making role of political agents—"the party leaders of administration and legislation" (p. 140). He regards the "points of diagnosis of problems and preparation of policy" as the "strategic ones for any adequate theory of government in its organization and structure today" (p. 143).

Because of the importance of the emerging executive machinery for program development, Gaus is properly concerned with the "improvement of the thinking and deciding process" (p. 61). In this connection he suggests the benefits of a cooperative federalism in a given area are mobilized" (p. 80). He sees similar gains in

by which "the resources of every level of government operating "devolution by function" as a means to secure a "recruiting of fresh energy and intelligence, and a broadening of the base of consent and understanding" (p. 91). Comparable advantages may derive from advisory committees of citizens or interest representatives, which present the career administrator with a challenge to "be convincing to persons not of a departmental or professional training, and more sensitive to the consequences of public action to the private citizen" (p. 101).

Throughout these lectures, Gaus shows a keen sense of history. He also renews our interest in comparative study, referring to Frank J. Goodnow's demonstration of "the wider and richer approach to problems of public law which the student of comparative government can and should bring, and which should always characterize our profession" (p. 107). On the other hand, the author does not place disproportionate weight upon the legalistic implications of administrative power. He is more impressed with the need for stimulating an "exchange of knowledge and attitude of official and community," thus making explicit that "administration ultimately is education" (p. 123).

Washington, D. C.

FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX

Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pebuche, A Study of Andean Indians*. University of Chicago Press, 1945, vii, 225 pp. \$3.00.

Mrs. Parsons, in this posthumously published work, presents a competent and scholarly ethnographic account of Peguche, a small, predominantly Indian community in the highlands of northern Ecuador.

Chapters on technology and material culture, family and personal life, religion, calendar, ritual, lore and tales, make up the major portion of the volume. These sections are well documented, thorough in presentation, and give a good all-round picture of the village and its varying activities. This is good ethnographic reporting, with an informal, even intimate touch throughout, especially in the section dealing with sickness and curing. Here Mrs. Parsons relates her contact with two sorcerers, to whom she went for "treatments." This sort of reporting is worth so much more than the usual second hand accounts.

In addition there are two excellent concluding sections, similar to the final chapters in her work on *Mitla*. One, entitled "In Peguche Houses," is a series of fifteen vignettes, sketches of Mrs. Parson's personal experiences and observation. They are warm,

intimate, amusing. One feels he almost knows Rosita Lema and her family, the author's major informant. These sketches give more life to the preceding chapters, adding much, thereby, to the scientific value of the report.

The final chapter deals with "provenience of traits." This is an analysis, both discussion and listing, of the cultural infiltration, insofar as this is possible, of Lowland Forest traits (primarily Jibaro), Peruvian traits, and finally Spanish traits. Peguche was a northern outpost of the Inca empire and had been conquered only a short time before the Spaniards arrived. In fact the Inca conquest, both in religion and in government, facilitated the Spanish conquest. In these two fields, government and religion, Inca and particularly Spanish traits now prevail. In basic economic traits (food and shelter) Indian traits predominate, as they also do in much of the Mexican area.

Mrs. Parsons made two trips to the area and spent over a year among these Indians. It is to be regretted that she had not completely finished the manuscript at the time of her death, for in spots it is somewhat choppy. Also, she would undoubtedly have included a map as well as a village chart, the only two noticeable omissions. A good index and forty excellent plates add much to the volume.

Anthropology has lost an outstanding contributor to the field, and it is saddening to realize that this is the last work to come from the pen of this accomplished woman, who at the time of her death was President of the American Anthropological Association.

University of Texas

GILBERT MC ALLISTER

Mark Morris (Editor), *Career Opportunities*. (Washington: Progress Press, 1946, pp. 354. \$3.25.)

A concise, systematic assembling of facts about post-war vocational opportunities should be a welcome addition to the guidance materials of teachers, counselors, social workers, and others who are concerned with orienting youth to their careers. It should also be of value to persons desirous of getting acquainted with some of the outstanding post-war vocational fields before making his or her own choice.

The present volume admirably qualifies for both of these purposes. As the publishers indicate, this book makes no claim to exhaustiveness in its coverage of contemporary occupations. Rather it has confined itself to those occupations which assume some significance in the nation's economy and which offer particular prospects for post-war careers.

Essentially the book consists of a series of occupational briefs, all logically arranged by major categories (industry, business, agriculture, engineering, medical sciences, etc.) and then by sub-categories (under engineering: aviation, radio, construction, painting, printing, and miscellaneous). This classification enhances the value of the book for reference purposes. Each specific occupation is further treated under five or six headings. Thus under "The Job of the Chemical Engineer" there is a discussion of "What Do Chemical Engineers Do?"; then a few words about "How Do You Qualify as a Chemical Engineer?"; then "Who Should or Should Not Take Up Chemical Engineering?"; then "Where Do Chemical Engineers Work, What Do They Earn, and What is the Outlook?"; then "Where Can You Prepare for Chemical Engineering and What Subjects Do You Take?"; then "Where Can You Find Out More About Chemical Engineering and Related Education?"; and finally "What Jobs are Related to Chemical Engineering?". The same treatment is followed for every other vocation.

Within the three to five pages allocated to each occupation there is a forthright and succinct presentation of materials very well pointed up to the questions that would be uppermost in the minds of the career-seeker and the vocational counsellor. Specific organizations and addresses are cited for the person who desires more information about any field. Facts rather than generalities make the book something really practical and useful.

It is a little surprising though to find that fields as important as retail-store management, diplomatic service, and dramatics have been omitted. One might cavil too over a few of the breakdowns that have been made: whereas school teaching receives a fairly detailed (though by no means exhaustive) breakdown, social work and its manifold fields is treated under the single heading of social work. But since the book lays no claim to being a complete coverage of all occupations these are only minor qualifications upon its value.

The care and judgment which the editor has used in compiling materials is evident. The services of many agencies—governmental, business, and labor—were enlisted, and consultations with experts were held in connection with checking, editing, and arranging the data. The book can be taken as an up-to-date, authoritative, and practical treatment of some significant present-day occupations.

The University of Texas

WALTER FIREY

George B. Galloway, *Congress At The Crossroads*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946. pp. ix, 374. \$3.50.)

That many of Dr. Galloway's conclusions on congressional reform coincide with the recommendations of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress and give his book an "authorized" tone is not unusual in view of the author's close identification with the contemporary congressional reform movement. In recent years, he has served as chairman of the American Political Science Association's committee on congress, and staff director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. His present position as Senior Specialist on Congressional Organization under the reorganized Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress keeps him in close touch with current developments. Although his book was written substantially before the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, a postscript summarizes the changes made by the act.

The close identification with the authorized reformers does not detract from the great value of this book, which is a necessary supplement to the hearings and report of the Joint Committee and the act itself for the student of legislative problems. Topic by topic, the book reviews the historical and current materials in the field and presents in an orderly fashion the alternatives leading to the particular conclusions reached. Moreover, the author does not confine himself to the recommendations of the committee, for he discusses such questions as seniority, and the Senate filibuster, which are avoided by the committee or held to be outside the terms of reference; and he considers more fundamental questions, such as those involved with a comparison of the congressional with the parliamentary model.

The title, *Congress As The Crossroads*, is suggestive of the main theme of the book: can congress as an institution, and congressmen as individuals, successfully devolve traditional, but not essential duties, to permit adequate concentration on their main functions of policy determination and control of administration? To the author, the gains provided in the act by way of devolution, reorganization, and staffing are important improvements, but should be extended up to and beyond the recommendations of the joint committee. He is strong in his advocacy of energetic policy committees to solidify over-all political leadership and congressional planning, and a vitalization and supplementation of the machinery of the control of administration. In respect to the control of administration much emphasis is well placed on the

extent to which the reorganization of Congress and the reorganization of the administrative branch are related, especially in the traditional fields of financial planning, financial control, administrative legislation and adjudication, and foreign affairs. While the author notes the bankruptcy of the separation of powers as a striking arrangement, he does not conclude that the solution is parliamentary organization. He believes that Congress must set up appropriate machinery, and make use of present neglected opportunities to independently judge financial needs, and the appropriateness of action taken by the administrative machine. This discussion leads to the fundamental question of how much duplication in the field of the control of administration would result, and would be justified—a question which is not answered by this book, or by recent experience. Incisive conclusions on many legislative problems are not to be expected, and the contribution of this book is the wealth of well marshalled alternatives confronting Congress in this important transitional period of its existence.

University of Oklahoma

JOSEPH C. PRAY

Research in Public Administration. "Part I, Report of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council, 1934-1945" by William Anderson; "Part II, Research in Public Administration, 1930-1945" by John M. Gaus. (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1945. xiv 221 pp.)

This publication, presented on behalf of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council, is decidedly a forward looking document. More accurately, it is two documents. The first (pp. 1-115 + appendixes) is the report for the Committee prepared by Professor Anderson. In this report there is an adequate sketch of the actual ten year's work by the committee. The results of the exploratory research in five or six areas are noted; the attempts to "capture and record" administrative experience are outlined; and the story of the case reports is told. Then Anderson alludes to several more conventional efforts to promote research in government administration. In conclusion he gives an account of committee conferences, finances, and areas of service.

The paper by Professor Gaus undertakes successfully to tell public administration researchers what they have accomplished during the last 15 years. The incisive and erudite analysis is perhaps more of a diagnosis than a history.

Each author gives an indication of what seems to him the most urgent of the unfinished tasks. The Committee Report deals with means of encouraging public administration study as well as with a research program. It would have the work developed by this committee continued; it would assure support to the records studies in Washington; and it would encourage public administration instruction in the universities. The two sets of research programs each commend sustained study of international organization and administration, federalism in the light of recent developments, fiscal policy and administration, relationships between the executive and the legislature, relationships within the administrative branch of government, study of over-all administrative problems (bureaucracy), and other research areas.

No student of public administration—perhaps no student of any of the social sciences—can afford to neglect this little book.

University of Kentucky

JAMES W. MARTIN

Guy Greer, *Your City Tomorrow*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. xiii, 210, \$2.50.)

For the most part our communities, large and small, have grown without any plan. Take a look at most any of them. The chances are that there is not enough ground for the inhabitant to enjoy his home, have a nice garden and a place to sit outside with some privacy. If he lives in a large city, there probably is no out-of-doors space for him save the distant public park. How far must he go to reach his work? Where do his children play, and how many streets and blighted areas must they cross going to and from school?

The wretched conditions of urban life during the last years of the nineteenth century gave rise to the modern movement for city planning in this country. Early efforts were directed toward remedying tenement conditions and the promotion of public parks, although these programs were later broadened. City planning during the first quarter of the present century remained largely a physical concept, and in some instances this conception still prevails.

During the last few years an avalanche of material has appeared dealing with city planning. Numerous books and hundreds of articles have been written on the subject, not to mention the speeches that have been delivered decrying the lack of or depicting the need for planning. In the opinion of the writer, many of the volumes might well have been reduced to articles and the articles

in some instances forgotten. Better results might have been obtained had many of these writers and speakers realized that the city does not exist in a vacuum—that city planning is far more than the drawing of beautiful pictures and the use of high-sounding phrases. He presents an interesting review

Guy Greer in the present volume, *Your City Tomorrow*, is chief of the history of city planning from the early European days to the present, and tells his story in such a way that the average citizen not only realizes the problems but is given some ideas for their solution. Housing is discussed in its relation to business, play and the art of living. The author analyzes what it means to plan and rebuild in an age of modern transportation; and such chapters as "Common Sense To Cases," "Tackling The Blight Problem," and "City And State—Partners Or Enemies?" are indeed provocative. The question of home rule is raised, the author being definitely of the opinion that local governments must have more powers in order that they deal with their problems. Some plain and honest talk is done about the fields of taxation and public expenditures, and always the author not only suggests that something be done but he says what and how in simple language.

In Chapter IX, Mr. Greer illustrates his views by giving an account of the program and plan for Greater Boston which was prepared in 1944 by a group of political scientists and other specialists. He concludes by painting a picture of what the future city can be, if its people so desire.

Mr. Greer not only has something worth saying, but he has said it well. We need more of this kind of thinking and writing in the planning field.

The University of Texas

STUART A. MCCORKLE

T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*. (Revised Edition, New York, Harper Bros., 1947, pp. xxii, 634. \$4.00.)

The revised edition of Smith's book follows the general pattern of the 1940 edition. The Sixteenth Census was used in the revision. In addition materials and illustrations from Smith's later studies, especially in Brazil, were incorporated. As in the former edition the author states the principles of sociology as he understands and makes use of them in his study of rural life. This makes the book a useful sociological study for those who have

not had a basic course in principles. It also can be interpreted from the point of view of the author by those who may have studied principles as given by other authors.

While the author gives a fair portrayal of rural life in the various sections of the United States, he overemphasizes and chiefly applies his sociological principles to the rural South. Particularly he neglects a description and an analysis of rural life in that large central area of the United States in which the major portion of the agricultural wealth is produced and about which most books in rural sociology are written. Smith states that the Southern farm is more typical than those of the relatively large family-sized farm because there is a larger number of farmers and farm workers in the South even though they do not produce as much. Moreover, the book does not effectively show the trend to the relatively large mechanized family-sized farm even in the South.

The author continues his criticism of the rectangular divisions of land and argues for the advantages of a line settlement on narrow and long strips of land. The social and economic advantages of this latter type which he presents are real but they may not offset the disadvantages which he ignores. These are the increased costs of fencing, time lost in going to and from more distant parts of the farm two or more times each day, the conflicts arising from the free range of poultry and live stock of near-by farms, and the injurious effects of free unsupervised association of children which appear frequently in villages and parts of cities.

This is a good book for a study of the rural life of the South. The materials are accurately and interestingly presented. For a more complete picture, however, of the rural life of the United States, the reader needs supplementary materials covering the other areas. Especially is this true for the importance of the agricultural products, rural standards of living, the influence of farmers on various phases of society, and the processes of accommodation, cooperation, conflict, assimilation, acculturation, and so forth when the composition of the people and their economic returns are different from those which prevail generally in the South.

Northwestern State College of Louisiana

ALVIN GOOD

J. T. Salter (Editor), *Public Men In And Out Of Office*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946, pp. XX, 513. \$4.00.)

Like machines, governments depend upon the motion which men impart. The dynamics of the State reflect the leadership of the politicians at the controls—the People's choices. The student of politics will gain from this symposium a view of many of the artisans determining the course of contemporary government, ranging from the true artists of statesmanlike stature to the lesser lights who inject discord into the symphony but who are nonetheless factors so long as they can evoke the favor of the voter. Well stated that ours is a world of politics—"talk, not bullets; politicians, not generals; voters, not soldiers. The only way we can lengthen the period between wars is to improve our politics, for wars do not come until our politics runs out."

In these twenty-four portraits the gamut is run as evidenced by these: Truman, Clark, Winant, and Wallace in the executive arm; O'Mahoney, Nye, Rayburn, Sabath, Fish, Barkley, Bilbo, Connally, and Ball (but no Vandenburg, Taft, et al) of the Congress; and, at the state and local level, Stassen, Dewey, Kerr, Warren, and Frank Hague. Typical of the symposium, one wonders if some of the able authors do not tend to deify or to destroy according to whim. It might be observed that there is a lack of the incisive analysis which characterized Agar's "The People's Choice." Still the reader will gain, at least by interpretation, a view of what mainspring gives each character a hold upon his constituency—some evidence of the change from machine politics to personality politics. Professor Salter aptly observes that "by your politicians are ye known" and that a modern revisor of the Proverbs would add to the unfathomable wonders "the way of a politician with a voter."

That the fathoming of politics and politicians is among the first challenges to intellectual search is attested by the reply of Professor Einstein to the query as to why Aristotle's conclusions on physics have been long discarded while "The Politics" stand fresh and quotable today. The distinguished scientist replied: "That is because politics is more difficult to understand than physics." In his exhibiting the soldier's "conspicuous gallantry"; for politicians with economic and social and world background; for more voter education concerning men and issues; and a record of

performance in office by the voter's *alter ego*, the politician. Enjoyable and timely, this study should be most interesting and challenging to historians and political scientists and to their students.

The University of Houston

DAVID W. KNEPPER

Brainerd Dyer, *Zachary Taylor*. (Louisiana State University Press, 1946, 455 pp. \$4.00.)

The appearance of Professor Brainerd Dyer's biography of Zachary Taylor provides the public with a definitive portrayal of the character of that much neglected figure in American history. Although writing a scholarly account of the life of Old Rough and Ready, the author has nevertheless told his narrative so skillfully that the book retains the reader's interest throughout most of its entirety. The generous use of footnote references, together with a complete bibliography, makes *Zachary Taylor* extremely valuable to historians and others interested in the soldier-president.

Since Zachary Taylor was primarily a soldier, this biography is concerned mostly with his military career. His participation in the Indian wars of his time, especially those against the Sacs and the Seminoles, is revealed in great detail but the major emphasis is placed on his part in the Mexican War. Originally sent to hold the border between Mexico and Texas after the latter's annexation by the United States, Taylor soon found himself attacked by Mexican troops. Although his ensuing campaign revealed an amazing lack of organization and planning, he won three victories, including the famous one at Buena Vista. He was not a particularly brilliant tactician nor strategist but owed his military successes instead to personal bravery, recognition of ability in others, and popularity with his enlisted men.

Because of his remarkable victories in the Mexican War, Taylor was stamped as a national hero. Hence he was available as a presidential candidate in the election of 1848, even though he had been poorly trained to occupy the highest post in the land. A break with President Polk and the Democratic administration made Taylor lean toward the Whigs, who forsook their perennial candidate, Henry Clay, and nominated the soldier-hero instead. In spite of his committing many political blunders, he emerged victorious from the presidential race. His success was due to his ability of hold most of Whig strongholds and, in addition, to carry the important states of New York and Pennsylvania.

Taylor's victory at the polls brought him sixteen months of struggle with the trials and burdens of an office for which he was not suited. Consequently his tenure in the White House was an unhappy period in his life and was to culminate in disappointment and eventual death. Displaying the same courage and stubbornness which had marked his military career, Taylor found himself at odds with prominent politicians, even some of his own party. His strong union statements alienated Alexander H. Stephens and Robert Toombs, while his hatred of Henry Clay caused him to oppose the great Kentuckian's proposals which led to the Compromise of 1850. Finally his failure to induce John J. Crittenden to head his cabinet left that body "too weak to hold the respect of the country." The absence of men like Clay, Webster, and Crittenden could hardly escape unnoticed and, although it could be explained, it greatly handicapped the inexperienced president. The resulting cabinet dissension, the widespread report that Taylor was governed by the majority vote of his advisers, and the split in the Whig party, all contributed to the worries and the problems of the president.

Professor Dyer ably reveals Zachary Taylor's personal characteristics. The soldier-president's overemphasis of the value of money, his strong likes and dislikes, his aversion for brevet commissions, his courage, his honesty, and his modesty are all disclosed with appropriate examples. Unlike many biographers who attempt to glorify their subjects by ignoring certain undesirable qualities, the author presents Taylor as he actually was, with his bad as well as his good characteristics. For its accuracy, its scholarship, and its readability this biography of Zachary Taylor is a valuable contribution to history and is one which the Louisiana State University Press may be proud to include in its list of prominent Americans.

University of Richmond

MILLARD K. BUSHONG

Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government...* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp .ix, 485. \$4.50.)

Robert M. MacIver, Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology at Columbia University, has written a spirited homily on the values of democracy and totalitarianism and the problems of international organization. Professor MacIver rejects "the claim that there is a systematic body of knowledge, already in existence or awaiting development, that can serve as a definite guide to the statesman, a science of how to govern, an applied science that does or can do in its field what medicine, say, or engineering does in

its field." Concerning the subject of how men are governed we are told that we have much, "but it is historical description and not systematic knowledge." Enough however for the author to allow a limited legitimacy to the present field of "political science."

Professor MacIver's pessimism as to the feasibility of political science, while understandable on its sorry record of accomplishment to date, is surprising in view of his expressed belief that economics is a science within his more rigorous definition. This is especially true since his principal obstacles to the possibility of a political science arise from the impossibility on the one hand of dissociating our changing values from the process of scientific analysis and on the other from our inability to set up a calculus by which we can predict changes in our system of values. One might doubt that economics is inherently any more immune to these limitations than politics.

Following this line of reasoning Professor MacIver concludes that all we are given is "Discretionary precepts for the attainment of particular goals, that is all we find in the whole series, down to the latest behind-the-scenes writer who informs us that a successful President of the United States must be all things to all men." The present work adds a new title to this long series. One may, however, remain unconvinced of the impossibility of the development of truly scientific knowledge of the process of politics.

In fact the author despite his disclaimer of being able to develop systematic knowledge that can serve as a definite guide to the statesmen ends up by claiming to do precisely that. Professor MacIver sums up his argument with the statement, "In our discussion two broad precepts have emerged the full acceptance of which is essential if democracy is to endure." What can such guides to conduct be except scientific hypotheses which in our author's judgment will meet the test of experience? Here are two all important propositions which the statesman apparently will do well to act on if he wishes to preserve democracy.

"One is that government should never be suffered to impose its controls on the cultural life of the community, to curtail the freedom of men to differ in their faiths and opinions, in their ways of thought and their ways of life, save when in the pursuit of these ways they inflict overt and objectively demonstrable hurt on their fellowmen. The second is a corollary of the first. It is that government should not be entrusted with so exclusive a monopoly over the economic-utilitarian system that the implementation of these functions conveys with it the effective indirect domination of the cultural life." Only by adhering to these two pre-

cepts "can the people remain free and still breathe the life-giving air that comes from beyond the realm of government."

Obviously to any one interested in the preservation of democracy these precepts are of the first importance. That is, they are if they can be brought to bear on specific issues and if they can be empirically verified.

Unfortunately Professor MacIver attempts neither the one nor the other. At least he assures us that the acceptance of his precepts does not require us to swallow *Laissez Faire*. What work however the statesman or the voter can make with these precepts besides accepting them as a kind of creed is left unsaid.

The reconciliation of liberty with authority is a perennial game of the political philosopher and its fascination is understandable even though one adds nothing to what has been already said by Mill and many others. It is shocking however to have a competent sociologist separating government from the culture and talking of a life giving air beyond it. This is not the way a scientist deals with the problem of totalitarianism.

Concerning this work the words of Professor Rudolf Carnap are relevant "the non-theoretical character of metaphysics would not be in itself a defect; all arts (Professor MacIver avers government to be an art) have this non-theoretical character without thereby losing their high value for personal as well as social life. The danger lies in the *deceptive* character of metaphysics; it gives the illusion of knowledge without actually giving any knowledge. This is the reason why we reject it."

The University of Texas

NORTON E. LONG

Pauline R. Kibbe, *Latin Americans in Texas*. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946, pp. xxi, 302. \$3.50.)

Not since Manuel Gamio's definitive study of *The Mexican Immigrant—His Life Story* (The University of Chicago Press, 1931) has a book about Latin Americans in the United States attracted so much notice as this work by the Executive Secretary of the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas. Mrs. Kibbe has chosen her subject and time well, and her discussion will be widely read. Some will be led by advance notices to expect a "challenging exposé of the Latin American's inequitable position in Texas," and others will hope for a sequel to Gamio's sociological and anthropological analysis. Neither group will be completely satisfied, though the first far less than the second. A third and larger class of readers will find assimilated in an attractive and readable volume a wide variety of opinions and collected information concerning a large segment of the Mexican population of Texas.

Following a rather elaborate introductory background, the problems of Latin Americans in Texas are presented in Part 4 under the headings: Education; Housing, Sanitation and Health; Employment; Migratory Labor; and Social and Civil Equality. The case against segregated education is convincingly argued, and the blame is fairly attributed to prejudiced local school boards and their agents. Impressive evidence in support of providing more adequate sanitary facilities for Latin-American districts in towns and cities is one of the most arresting features of the book. It should arouse the primal instinct of self-preservation in the minds of city councilmen and Anglo taxpayers on whom the responsibility is placed.

The story of the migrant cotton picker is a tribute to the patience and competence of the Farm Labor Office of the Texas A. and M. Extension Service. It also shows how Texas communities can speedily overcome supposedly ingrained disinterest once a clear connection between Latin Americans and economic welfare is established. As the writer relates concerning the establishment of migratory camps: "Unsuspected resources were tapped, unanticipated interest and activity were stimulated and unprecedented ingenuity manifested itself. As a result, migratory laborers found working and living conditions in the cotton-growing areas vastly improved . . ."

Inspiration for a folklorist is the description of Latin-American crews who annually follow the same route through the large sheep and goat ranches of West Texas. "The grace of a skilled shearer, stripped to the waist, with his torso stain-shiny from lanolin . . . is a sight to behold." Since Mrs. Kibbe relaxed in this one description of the brighter side of Latin-American life in Texas, it is to be regretted that she did not vary her narrative more with similar incidents. Many Latin Americans in Texas are established, socially recognized, and economically adjusted. An evaluation of the historical and cultural contributions of these descendants of former Mexican nationals would have been more in keeping with the all-inclusiveness of her title.

Those who cite isolated instances from this book to promote harmful agitation will be doing the author an injustice, for she is fair and considerate in her over-all evaluations. This is a work which should be helpful to persons, whatever their divergent views, in orienting themselves on problems faced by Texans of Mexican origin.

The University of Texas

JOE W. NEAL

Edward S. Corwin, *Total War and the Constitution*. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947, pp. 182. \$2.50.)

This work is composed of five lectures delivered by the author in 1946 at the University of Michigan under the auspices of the William W. Cook Foundation. Basically the book is a study of the changes which have taken place in our traditional constitutional structure and theory as a result of the impact of the following factors: (a) the aggrandizement of presidential power in the days immediately preceding Pearl Harbor, (b) the waging of a "total war" against the Axis, and (c) the governmental problems presented by the conversion back to "total peace." In his concluding chapter the author attempts a summation of the permanent changes which have occurred and ventures a prediction or two as to what the future holds for us.

It is evident that to Professor Corwin the traditional balances within our political system have given way and that we are due to experience increased regulation by Congressional action, plus bigger and better bureaucratic control resulting from an expanded conception of the nature of the executive power. Against these tendencies the author sees little hope of the Court imposing an effective check; indeed, in his view, the Court itself has already given a green light to these developments by relaxing its traditional interpretations of the limits and confines of legislative and executive power. Professor Corwin does not like these developments but he accepts them as accomplished facts and accordingly seeks to realistically evaluate them, and their probable effects, in terms of the philosophy of Bishop Butler whose words he quotes with approval: "Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences will be what they will be; why then should we desire to be deceived?"

For the safeguarding of what is left of our constitutional tradition, Professor Corwin looks to a closer organization of the relationship between Congress and the President hoping thereby to achieve the adoption of policies and legislation representative of broad opinion and widespread popular demand. Unless the people are alive to their responsibilities and articulate their will in the Congress and the White House, the remaining guarantees of Constitutional Government will be lost. If Professor Corwin's thesis be accepted it means that a basic shift has occurred in our traditional system of government from one of government by judicial supremacy to one of legislative-executive domination. That such a shift has taken place at the moment, at least in so far as the

Court has abdicated its previous position of ultimate arbiter, the author clearly demonstrates. That this a permanent shift, and that judicial review may not in time recover its old preeminence remains to be seen. The probabilities are, however, that Professor Corwin is right and he deserves the thanks of students of our government for so trenchantly inviting their attention to this change. The validity of his suppositions in regard to Legislative-Executive co-operation seems to be undergoing some rough sledding at the moment, but a return to a normal one-party control of the two branches of the government may see them vindicated.

This is an important book, and an illuminating one, whether or not one agrees wholeheartedly with what the author terms his "pessimism." Many will find Professor Corwin's conclusions distasteful, few will be able to challenge the logic of his argument, and all will find in *Total War and the Constitution* a challenge for further analysis and research on the problem of our changing constitution.

The University of Texas

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

Schuyler D. Hoslett (Editor), *Human Factors in Management*.
((Parkeville, Missouri: Park College Press, 1946, pp. v, 322. \$4.00.)

This book is made up of a series of articles each by a writer with a different viewpoint or approach to the functioning of management in labor relations. It has made "no attempt to cover all conceivable aspects;" in fact, it minimizes the structural phases of management. The purpose of the book, accordingly, is a highly commendable one.

Although the book grants that "our knowledge of all the subjects discussed is still fragmentary and in an early stage of development, it, nevertheless, contains, among others, two excellent chapters—"The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk," and "Management Mentalities and Worker Reactions." Not only are these chapters highly informative, they are rich in the presentation of relationships and functions and furnish a keen insight into the problems involved. The absence of "patterns," "structures," and other taxonomic devices is a welcome deviation from much of the current discussion.

However, a far better chapter on "Motives of Union Membership" could have been compiled from the publications of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. All of the basic material in the chapter in this book can be found in the literature of the

noted Pullman strike of 1894. Likewise, extracts from Lincoln's *Incentive Management* would have supplied a wealth of material on this topic which was very inadequately treated in this volume. Another noteworthy omission is the lack of a discussion of the relationship of propaganda to leadership. Finally, the book could have been made more useful by the inclusion of an index. These criticisms are offered as constructive ones to improve a book in future editions since it has a highly commendable purpose and has shown amazing possibilities in the two chapters noted above.

Tulane University

CLARENCE E. BONNETT

H. Beukema, W. M. Geer, and associates, *Contemporary Foreign Governments*. (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1946, pp. xxi, 362. \$3.50.)

This brief volume was prepared under the direction of Colonel Beukema, Major Geer, and their associates, for use in the Department of Economics, Government, and History at the United States Military Academy at West Point. Its authors have had long experience in the field of political science, some of them at West Point and others, before the war, as teachers in civilian universities. The volume has had the advantage of critical appraisal of facts by agencies of the State Department, War Department, and other governmental units. Its bibliography is a useful guide to the principal secondary material on the subjects treated.

The governments included are Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, the U.S.S.R., and Japan. A terminal chapter deals with international cooperation, from earliest times down to the United Nations and the possible effects of the atomic bomb upon such cooperation.

For the purpose for which the book was designed, namely, instruction of cadets whose schedule allows little time for a study of foreign governments, it must be said that the objective has been accomplished handsomely. The salient facts are set down, almost in telegraphic style, with no notable evidence of bias, or, for that matter, of generalization. There is useful material on the armed forces of each of the countries included, a feature not usually found in comparative government texts; but in these unsettled days, such information is of value to civilians as well as to cadets.

For use in institutions of higher learning other than West Point, the volume is worthy of much consideration. The lacking interpretive material can readily be supplied by the instructor, and

many a teacher will find this a convenient source of up to the minute information on each of the governments discussed. To those used to the extensive treatment of comparative government in the older texts, this work will seem brief indeed, but bearing in mind its original use, and its condensed style, such brevity is both understandable and advantageous. The numerous charts are particularly useful for impressing structural relationships upon student minds; the various maps, also, help the building of a living idea of the country under discussion. The inclusion of documents, boxed in the text at the point at which they are being described illuminates and highlights the account. This reviewer does not know of a better brief, modern review of comparative government.

The University of Texas

EDWARD G. LEWIS

Maximilian J. St. George and Lawrence Dennis, *A Trial on Trial*. (National Civil Rights Committee, 1945, pp. 503. \$5.00.)

This survey of "The Great Sedition Trial of 1944" never will achieve the popular following necessary to make it a best seller. It is repetitious, dry, uninteresting, xyloid. The writing is pedestrian; the attitude is pedantic. The whole account drags its weary way along with the same elaboration and re-elaboration of detail after detail in the same irrelevant and confusing pursuit of an obscure thesis which the authors complain about as characteristic of the trial which they are describing.

Likewise, the book never will gain acceptance as an authoritative study in juristic science or in the practical administration of justice. The primary reason for this is that it has the wrong authors. Inevitably, a leading defendant and a prominent lawyer for the defense will be unable to describe the trial which was so important to them with the objectivity essential to a fair appraisal. Naturally, they impute to the prosecution the meanest of motives and the utmost unfairness in courtroom tactics. Besides, throughout the discussion runs an obvious trail of propaganda of the sort which first brought the defendants into court. One cannot avoid the suspicion that the writers are more concerned with carrying on anti-Semitic and authoritarian agitation than they are in an unbiased survey of the social implications of the trial. From one page to another they can be caught in obvious contradictions, in inference and innuendo, if not in express words. Witness the denunciation of the "smear technique" in a book in which this technique is constantly employed. At times, the persecution motif is carried so far as apparently to lead even the lawyer-author to forget his law, as in the assertion, page 348, that the President,

by forcing a pardon on a convicted defendant, may preclude him from prosecuting an appeal. Everything the Supreme Court has decided indicates the contrary. See *Burdick v. U. S.*, 236 U. S. 79, 59 L. Ed. 476, 135 S. Ct. 267 (1915); *Berman v. U. S.* 302 U. S. 211, 82 L. Ed. 204, 58 S. Ct. 164 (1937); *Koremats v. U. S.*, 319 U. S. 432, 87 L. Ed. 1497, 63 S. Ct. 1124 (1942). The worst fault of all, however, is that the authors have presented a fragmentary picture of the whole trial, with over-emphasis upon the opening statement, and ask us to pass judgment on that basis, assisted by such obvious non-sequiturs as the assertion that the reversal of five cases by the Supreme Court of the United States shows that Attorney General Biddle engaged in the systematic subversion of civil liberties.

The book's obvious deficiencies, even the lack of sympathy with which most American readers will regard its tone, style and apparent secondary objective, should not blind us to a very legitimate issue raised by it affecting the propriety of proceedings of the type involved. This is the practical impossibility of achieving a just result. The magnitude of the record, the complexity of the evidence, the necessary length of its presentation, the subtlety of the reasoning by which the scattered strands of evidence must be woven together to place the rope of guilt about the necks of the defendants—all these things suggest the impossibility of an adequate resolution of the case by any jury. Whether these factors work in favor of conviction or of acquittal is a problem concerning which lawyers may differ, but their existence establishes the impolicy of prosecutions such as this. Instead, there should be effective statutory prohibitions of the socially dangerous manifestations of such states of mind, so phrased as to permit focus upon a single charge of forbidden conduct.

The chief prosecutor, whose fairness our authors, in my opinion, unjustly asperse, came to the conclusion that the charges could not be sustained, and the new chief justice of the District Court for the District of Columbia dismissed the indictments because of the doubt as to the successful termination of the prosecution and the long and prejudicial delay. *U. S. v. McWilliams*, 69 F. Supp. 812 (1946). The dismissing opinion emphasizes the points I have mentioned without the bias, inaccuracy and ulterior objectives which mar the book under review.

University of Oklahoma

MAURICE H. MERRILL

ADDITIONAL BOOKS RECEIVED

- Bolles, Blair, *Who Makes Our Foreign Policy?* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1947. 94 pp. 35c.)
- Cuber, J. F., *Sociology*. (New York: D. Appleton Century Co., 1947. 590 pp. \$4.00.)
- Davidson & Blake (Editors), *Rocky Mountain Tales*. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. 302 pp. \$3.00.)
- Everett, J. R., *Religion in Economics*. (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. 160 pp. \$2.50.)
- Gillin, John L., *Social Pathology* (3rd Ed.). (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1946. \$4.50.)
- Hacker & Zahler (Editors), *The Shaping of The American Tradition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. 1247 pp. \$6.00.)
- Lawton, G., *Aging Successfully*. (Columbia University Press, 1947. 266 pp. \$2.75.)
- Martin, Howard N., *Folktales of the Alabama-Coushatta Indians*. (Jacksonville, Texas: McFarland Publishing Co., 1946. 75 pp.)
- Morgan, J. D., *Fiscal Kansas*. (University of Kansas, Bureaus of Business Research and Government Research, 1946. 98 pp.)
- Mussey and Donnan, *Economic Principles and Modern Practices*, (2d Ed.) (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1947. 834 pp. \$4.50.)
- Needham, Jr., *History Is On Our Side*. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946. 226 pp. \$3.25.)
- Odum, Howard W., *The Way of The South*. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947. 341 pp. \$3.00.)
- Office of Temporary Controls, *Chronology of The OPA*. (Washington D. C., 1947. \$1.00.)
- Office of Temporary Controls, *Field Organization and Administration of The WPB*. May 1940 to November, 1945. (Special Study No. 25.) (Washington D. C., 1947.)
- Office of Temporary Controls, *Minutes of The Price Administration Committee*. (Washington D. C., 1947. 65 pp.)

- Palmer, G. L., *Research Planning Memorandum on Labor Mobility*. (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. 22 pp. 25c.)
- Pearce and Thomason (Editors), *Southwesterners Write*. (University of New Mexico Press, 1947. 364 pp. \$4.00.)
- Perry, George S., *Cities of America*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947. 287 pp. \$3.50.)
- Pierson, John H., *Full Employment and Free Enterprise*. (Washington D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1947. 183 pp. \$3.00.)
- Smith, R. A., *The Life of a Bill*. (University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1946. 25 pp.)
- War Administration Records Committee, War Records Sections, Bureau of the Budget, *The United States at War—Development and Administration of the War Program By The Federal Government*. (Bureau of Budget, Washington D. C., 1947. 555 pp. \$1.00.)
- Whitman, Wm., *The Pueblo Indians of San Ildiefonso*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. 164 pp. \$2.75.)
- Wildér, B. E., *Governmental Agencies of The State of Kansas*. (University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research 1946. 128 pp.)

NEWS NOTES

Ira G. Clark of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of History and Government.

Henry M. Cunningham, formerly on the staff of the Interstate Commerce Commission has been appointed Assistant Professor of Transportation in the University of Texas.

Lionel D. Haight of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts has been promoted to the rank of Professor of Business Administration.

Rector R. Hardin has come from Berea College, Kentucky, to be Professor of Business Administration at the University of Arkansas.

Sigurd Johansen has been promoted to the rank of Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department of History and Social Science at the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Walter Krause of the Department of Economics at the University of Texas has accepted a position with the Department of Economics at Dartmouth.

Jerry W. Martin, formerly of the Fairchild Aircraft Corporation has been appointed Assistant Professor of Transportation in the University of Texas.

W. N. Peach, Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Texas, has accepted a position as Associate Professor of Economics at Syracuse University.

Virgil Salera, formerly of Miami University, has been appointed Associate Professor of International Trade in the College of Business Administration at the University of Texas.

Alvin H. Scaff of the Department of Sociology of the University of Texas has accepted a position for 1947-48 in the Department of Sociology at Pomona College.

Hampton K. Snell, formerly Assistant to the President of the Association of American Railroads has been appointed Professor of Transportation in the College of Business Administration at the University of Texas.

George Stepanovich has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Economics, College of Commerce, Oklahoma A. & M.

An invitation Conference on Population Research was held on May 1 and 2 at College Station, Texas. Speakers who participated in the program included Dr. Margaret Jarman Hagood, Social Scientist, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, Washington; Dr. C. Horace Hamilton, Head, Department of Rural Sociology, North Carolina State College; Dr. Homer L. Hitt, Associate Professor of Sociology, Louisiana State University; Dr. W. F. Ogburn, Visiting Professor of Sociology, Louisiana State University; D. F. Sarle, Head, Division of Special Farm Statistics, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, Washington; Dr. Henry S. Shryock, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington; Dr. T. Lynn Smith, Head, Department of Sociology, Louisiana State University; Dr. Lorin A. Thompson, Director, Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia; and Dr. Rupert Vance, Kenan Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina.

New Members Added Since March

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Adkins, Roscoe C.
Political Science
University of Arkansas,
Fayetteville, Ark.</p> <p>Ainsworth, Mrs. W. H.,
Accounting
University of Houston,
Houston, Texas</p> <p>Alvis, Vance Q.,
Economics,
University of Arkansas,
Fayetteville, Ark.</p> <p>Baxter, J. Lamont,
Faculty Exchange,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.</p> <p>Bechtel, Kenneth C.,
Sociology,
McPherson College,
McPherson, Kans.</p> <p>Birchard, Ralph E.,
Geography,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.</p> <p>Bolvard, R. L.,
Sociology,
Southwestern Louisiana Institute,
Lafayette, La.</p> <p>Braden, Gladys E.,
Geography,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.</p> <p>Brooks, Melvin S.,
Sociology,
Texas A. & M. College,
College Station, Tex.</p> <p>Broun, T. Taylor,
Geography,
East Texas State Teachers' College,
Commerce, Tex.</p> <p>Carroll, Monroe S.,
Business Administration,
Baylor University,
Waco, Tex.</p> <p>Chen, Edward K. T.,
History and Government,
University of Houston,
Houston, Tex.</p> <p>Chisholm, John W.
Economics,
Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.</p> | <p>Clark, Curtis L.
Economics and Government,
Lamar College,
Beaumont, Tex.</p> <p>Clark, Ira G.,
Government and History,
New Mexico A. & M. College,
State College, N. M.</p> <p>Cocklin, H. E.,
Accounting,
U. S. Civil Service Commission,
Dallas, Tex.</p> <p>Compton, Ross,
Sociology,
North Texas State College,
Denton, Tex.</p> <p>Corfield, George,
Geography,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.</p> <p>Cox T. Hillard
Business Administration,
Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.</p> <p>Crevalinb, Harold F.,
Geography,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.</p> <p>Crowell, Mrs. Bertha,
Sociology,
College of Mines,
El Paso, Tex.</p> <p>Cuenod, Maude
Business Administration,
Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.</p> <p>Cullen, Florence,
Geography,
North Texas State College,
Denton, Texas</p> <p>Curry, O. J.,
Accounting,
North Texas State College,
Denton, Tex.</p> <p>Davis, Dan R.,
Sociology,
Texas A. & M. College,
College Station, Tex.</p> <p>Davis, J. DeWitt,
Psychology,
Texas Arts and Industries College,
Kingsville, Tex.</p> |
|---|---|

- Domnick, Kenneth,
Agricultural Economics,
East Central (Okla.) State College,
Ada, Okla.
- Donnell, Guy R.,
Government,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Doran, L. A.,
Government,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Dove, Claude C.,
Psychology,
New Mexico A. & M. College,
State College, N. M.
- Edgel, Ralph L.,
Business Administration,
University of New Mexico,
Albuquerque, N. M.
- Eister, Allen W.,
Sociology,
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.
- Emert, D. Martine
Geography and History,
Texas Christian University,
Fort Worth, Tex.
- Estep, Raymond,
History,
Air University,
Maxwell Field, Alabama.
- Eubank, John R.,
Sociology,
Philander Smith College,
Little Rock, Ark.
- Faught, William A.,
Economics,
Federal Reserve Bank,
Dallas, Tex.
- Finnerty, F. E.,
Accounting,
St. Thomas High School,
Houston, Tex.
- Firey, Walter I.,
Sociology,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Fischer, LeRoy,
History,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Fite, Robert C.,
Geography,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Foster, Lew,
2711 Commerce St.,
Dallas, Tex.
- Fowler, Paul R.,
Sociology,
Oklahoma Baptist University,
Shawnee, Okla.
- Fox, Guy,
Government,
North Texas State College,
Denton, Tex.
- Friedsam, Hiram J.,
Sociology,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Goodstein, Barnett M.,
Economics,
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.
- Giffin, Roscoe,
Economics,
University of Arkansas,
Fayetteville, Ark.
- Gragert, Herbert T.,
Sociology,
Phillips University,
Enid, Okla.
- Griscom, Mrs. Doris B.,
Sociology,
Sophie Newcomb College,
New Orleans, La.
- Grubbs, Kenneth,
Economics,
North Texas State College,
Denton, Tex.
- Guinan, V. J.,
Psychology,
St. Thomas High School,
Houston, Tex.
- Guthrie, G. L.,
Business Administration,
New Mexico A. & M. College,
State College, N. M.
- Haight, Lionel D.,
Business Administration,
New Mexico A. & M. College,
State College, N. M.

- Hall, Rufus G.,
Government,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Hamilton, Herbert,
Business Administration,
Southwestern Louisiana Institute,
Lafayette, La.
- Hammond, W. R.,
Economics and History,
North East Junior College,
Monroe, La.
- Hancock, Tom,
Economics,
University of Arkansas,
Fayetteville, Ark.
- Harris, Mrs. F. L., Jr.,
Sociology,
Lon Morris College,
- Heim, Peggy,
Economics,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Hitchner, Dell G.,
Political Science,
University of Wichita,
Wichita, Kans.
- Hodges, John E.,
Economics,
Rice Institute,
Houston, Tex.
- Huff, J. W.,
Accounting,
East Central State College,
Ada, Okla.
- Hughes, Vernon,
Economics,
East Texas State College,
Commerce, Tex.
- Humbert, Harold F.,
History,
Phillips University,
Enid, Okla.
- Hunt, R. L.,
Agricultural Economics,
Texas A. & M. College,
College Station, Tex.
- Johnson, Richard B.,
Economics,
Federal Reserve Bank,
Dallas, Tex.
- Kahle, Louis G.,
Government,
University of Missouri,
Columbia, Mo.
- Kennemer, Jewel D.,
Sociology and Economics,
East Texas State College,
Commerce, Tex.
- Kopp, George W.,
Southwestern Publishing Co.,
Dallas, Tex.
- Kovacs, Sandor B.,
Sociology,
University of Tulsa,
Tulsa, Okla.
- Landes, J. D.,
Accounting and
Business Administration,
Lamar College,
Beaumont, Tex.
- Leies, Herbert F.,
Sociology,
St. Mary's University,
San Antonio, Tex.
- Lentz, Oscar H.,
Economics and Sociology,
North Texas State College,
Denton, Tex.
- Lewis, Edward G.,
Government,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Lewis, George E.,
History,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Luksa, Frank,
Sociology,
Southwestern University,
Georgetown, Tex.
- MacCorkle, Stuart A.,
Bureau of Municipal Research,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- McGannon, Carl,
D. C. Heath & Co.,
Dallas, Tex.
- McPherson, Roy L.,
Business Administration,
Texas State College for Women,
Denton, Tex.

- Marrs, Wyatt,
Sociology,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Merzbach, L. N.,
Economics,
Southwestern University,
Georgetown, Tex.
- Miles, Mrs. Otha King,
Psychology,
Centenary College,
Shreveport, La.
- Miller, Melvin M.,
Student,
204 W. California,
Nacogdoches, Tex.
- Miller, O. C.,
Economics,
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute,
Ruston, La.
- Minton, H. L.,
Geography,
Arkansas State Teachers College,
Conway, Ark.
- Mitchell, Donald W.,
History,
Sam Houston State College,
Huntsville, Tex.
- Moore, Clarence A.,
Rural Economics,
University of Arkansas,
Fayetteville, Ark.
- Mullenix, Grady,
Economics,
North Texas State College,
Denton, Tex.
- Mute, John E.,
Business Administration,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Myers, Glenn,
Business Administration,
Southwestern Publishing Co.,
Denton, Tex.
- Nunn, W. C.,
History,
Texas Christian University,
Fort Worth, Tex.
- Olcott, Mrs. Charles T.,
Psychology,
Lamar College,
Beaumont, Tex.
- Osborne, J. D.,
Sociology,
Hardin-Simmons University,
Abilene, Tex.
- Owen, John P.,
Economics,
Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.
- Palmer, Frank R.,
Geography,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Parcher, L. A.,
Agricultural Economics,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Peck, Gladys,
Economics and
Business Administration,
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute,
Ruston, La.
- Penz, A. J.,
Accounting,
Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.
- Perry, W. E.,
Sociology,
Tillotson College,
Austin, Tex.
- Pollock, Floyd A.,
Sociology,
Stephen F. Austin State
Teachers College,
Nacogdoches, Tex.
- Porter, Dorothy,
Sociology,
Texas State College for Women,
Denton, Tex.
- Porter, Eugene O.,
History,
College of Mines,
El Paso, Tex.
- Randle, C. Wilson,
Economics,
Texas A. & M. College,
College Station, Tex.
- Reynolds, T. H.,
History,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Risinger, Burton R.,
Business Administration,
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute,
Ruston, La.

- Rogers, Gaines M.,
Economics,
Baylor University,
Waco, Tex.
- Root, T. C.,
Accounting,
Texas Technological College,
Lubbock, Tex.
- Rosenthal, Mrs. M. C.,
Sociology,
Trinity University,
San Antonio, Tex.
- Sandelius, Walter E.,
Government,
University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kans.
- Schaffler, T. R.,
Sociology,
Phillips University,
Enid, Okla.
- Schwartz, P. W.,
Faculty Exchange,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Sheley, C. F.,
Languages,
Stephen F. Austin Teachers
College,
Nacogdoches, Tex.
- Shinn, B. Claude,
Faculty Exchange,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Smith, Arthur A.,
Economics,
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.
- Spencer, Charles F.,
Government,
East Central State College,
Ada, Okla.
- Spencer, John H. D.,
Business Administration,
College of Mines,
El Paso, Tex.
- Spratt, J. S.,
Economics,
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.
- Stepanovich, George,
Economics,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Stewart, LeRoy E.,
Government,
University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Okla.
- Stockton, John R.,
Business Administration,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Stone, Anna E.,
Psychology,
Vocational Testing Laboratory,
Dallas, Tex.
- Stovall, F. L.,
Psychology,
University of Houston,
Houston, Tex.
- Sutherland, Robert L.,
Hogg Foundation,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Tate, Willis M.,
Sociology,
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.
- Taylor, James,
Social Science,
Southwest State Teachers College,
San Marcos, Tex.
- Thomas, C. R.,
Geography,
Central State College,
Edmond, Okla.
- Thornton, E. W.,
History and Government,
Oklahoma Baptist University,
Shawnee, Okla.
- Tucker, Elbridge A.,
Agricultural Economics,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Trexler, H. A.,
History,
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.
- Ullrich, Oscar A.,
Psychology,
Southwestern University,
Georgetown, Tex.
- Underwood, W. H.,
Economics and Government,
South Eastern State College,
Durant, Okla.

- Vandergrift, J. R.,
Accounting,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Waggoner, M. A.,
Sociology,
University of Tulsa,
Tulsa, Okla.
- Walker, Robert A.,
Institute of Citizenship,
Kansas State College,
Manhattan, Kans.
- Wallin, Z. B.,
Economics,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Waters, Mrs. Odessa H.,
Sociology,
Jarvis College,
Hawkins, Tex.
- Watson, Mrs. Ora V.,
Sociology,
Centenary College,
Shreveport, La.
- Watters, Elsie,
Bureau of Business Research,
University of Texas,
Austin, Tex.
- Wear, John B., Jr.,
Accounting,
U. S. Civil Service Commission,
Dallas, Tex.
- Werlin, Joseph S.,
Sociology,
University of Houston,
Houston, Tex.
- White, B. Eureath,
Sociology,
Texas State College for Women,
Denton, Tex.
- Whitwell, Charles G.,
History,
North Western State College,
Natchitoches, La.
- Whittle, R. T.,
Vocational Testing Laboratory,
Dallas, Tex.
- Wilbanks, C. H.,
Government and History,
Lamar College,
Beaumont, Tex.
- William, Barr J.,
History,
Oklahoma A. & M. College,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Winslow, David C.,
Geography,
Oklahoma A. & M.,
Stillwater, Okla.
- Winters, Catherine,
History,
North Western State College,
Natchitoches, La.
- Zook, Paul D.,
Economics,
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.

Institutional Members

- Bethany College,
Bethany, Okla.
- Central State College,
Edmund, Okla.
- McMurray College,
Abilene, Tex.
- Oklahoma College for Women,
Chickasha, Okla.
- Oklahoma Baptist University,
Shawnee, Okla.
- Oklahoma City University,
Oklahoma City, Okla.
- Southern Baptist College,
Walnut Ridge, Ark.
- Texas Christian University,
Fort Worth, Tex.
- Texas Technological College,
Lubbock, Tex.
- Texas Wesleyan College,
Fort Worth, Tex.
- Trinity University,
San Antonio, Tex.

Memorial Awards in Political Science

The American Political Science Association has announced the creation of a Committee on Awards, to supervise the competition for three awards for publications in the field of political science:

1. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation award for the best publication each year in the field of Government and Democracy;
2. The Willkie Memorial Building award for the best publication each year in the field of International Relations;
3. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation award for the best publication each year in the field of Government and Human Welfare.

Authors wishing to submit a publication for any one of the three awards should send six copies of the publication to the chairman of the appropriate panel. For the Woodrow Wilson Foundation award the chairman is Professor Francis W. Coker of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; for the Willkie Memorial Building award, Dean Payson S. Wild, Jr., Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; for the Franklin D. Roosevelt award, Dr. Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

The regulations for submission of publications are:

1. Any author who is a citizen or resident of the United States, or publisher, may submit a publication for consideration by the appropriate panel.
2. Any member of the Committee, or of the American Political Science Association, may submit a publication by another author for consideration by any of the panels.
3. A member may not, during the period of his committee membership, be a contestant for any of the awards.
4. Only works published during the twelve-month period preceding October 1, the closing date for entries for each year's awards, shall be eligible for consideration. For the first awards (1946-47), however, works published during the period February 1946—September 30, 1947, will be considered for the awards.

Publications shall be in the hands of the Committee not later than October 1 to be eligible for that year's awards.

5. Publications shall be submitted in the form of printed books, articles, or monographs. The Committee may make exception in the case of researches of particular merit which have appeared in some other duplicated form.
6. Six copies of each publication shall be submitted to the chairman of the panel for which it is entered in competition for an award.
7. In general, a publication shall be considered by one panel only. If in any year more than one panel favors the same publication, the general chairman of the two or three panels involved shall decide upon the nature of the award to be made.

The basis of selection of the winning publications are:

1. Final decision regarding the publication to be given the award in each of the three fields shall be made by the members of the Committee constituting the panel dealing with that field.
2. A majority of votes of the panel members shall determine the winning publication. If the vote in any one panel is by bare majority; i.e., 3, the general chairman of the Committee shall cast his vote with the panel. If the combined vote results finally in a tie, no award shall be made.
3. A panel may, in its discretion, decide that no publication worthy of an award has been submitted, and make no award for the year.
4. The basis for making each of the three awards will be the quality of research, intellectual penetration and judgment revealed. The primary purpose of the awards is to give recognition to work which advances knowledge through the methods of political science in the fields of (a) government and democracy, (b) international relations, (c) government and human welfare. Although there will be no independent criterion of literary excellence, it is presumed that no publication with a quality of content deserving an award will lack reasonable clarity and conciseness of expression.
5. The Committee shall make a public announcement in January or February of each year inviting authors to submit publications for consideration by one of the panels of the Committee. The winner of each of the three awards will be presented with a scroll at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

The full membership of the Committee on Awards is:

Robert D. Leigh, Social Science Research Council; General
Chairman

Panel on Government and Democracy

Francis W. Coker, Yale; Chairman

Professor Carl B. Swisher, Johns Hopkins University

Dean Paul H. Appleby, Syracuse University

Mr. Pendleton Herring, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Assistant Professor David B. Truman, Harvard University

President Harry D. Gideonse, Brooklyn College, New York

Mr. Thomas K. Finletter, New York, U. S. Representative to the
United Nations Trusteeship Council

Panel on International Relations

Dean Payson S. Wild, Jr., Harvard University, Cambridge,
Mass., Chairman

Professor William T. R. Fox, Yale University

Professor George Taylor, University of Washington

Dr. G. Bernard Noble, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Director, Division of Trusteeship, United
Nations, Lake Success, N.Y.

Panel on Government and Human Welfare

Dr. Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago, Chairman

Professor Sterling Spero, New York University

Professor Charles C. Rohlfsing, University of Pennsylvania

Dr. James L. McCamy, University of Wisconsin

Professor Charles McKinley, Reed College

THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

At the annual meeting of The Southwestern Social Science Association at Aallas, April 4-5, 1947, the following program was given:

FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 9 A.M.

ACCOUNTING, BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

SECTIONS (Joint).....Peacock Terrace
Chairman: Ellis M. Sowell, Texas Christian University.
"Simplified Accounting Statements," Leo Herbert, Brigham Young University.
"Department Store Accounting," Louis R. Sarazan, The Fair Department Store, Fort Worth, Texas.
"New Development in Financial Statements," Robert H. Gregory, Texas Christian University.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

SECTION, "Farm Management".....Room No. 3
Chairman: C. A. Wiley, University of Texas.
"Production Adjustment Studies for 1948," Sherman E. Johnson, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C.
Discussion: C. A. Bonnen, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, V. C. Childs, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.
"Needed Research to Guide Adjustments in Postwar Agriculture," T. R. Hedges, University of Arkansas.
Discussion: A. C. McGee, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.
"Training Farm Operators and Managers," Peter Nelson, Oklahoma A. & M. College.
General discussion.

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

SECTION (Joint Economics).....Peacock Terrace
ECONOMICS SECTION, "Labor".....Texas Room
Chairman: George N. Wood, Phillips University.
"Theories of Union Growth," William J. Phillips, Jr., Southwestern Louisiana Institute.
Discussion: Morris M. Blair, Oklahoma A. & M. College.
"The Outlawing of the Closed Shop," Alton R. Hodgkins, Tulane University.
Discussion: H. R. Mundhenke, Texas Christian University.
"Some Trends in Labor Relations," Edwin A. Elliott, Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board.
Discussion: Sam Barton, North Texas State College.

GEOGRAPHY SECTION.....Room No. 2
"Regionalism in the Southwest," John S. Kyser, Northwestern State College, Louisiana.
"Institutional Factors Related to Human Activities in the Southwest and South," Walter Hansen, North Texas State College.
"Community Development—A Way to Better Living," Florence Cullen, North Texas State College, H. L. Minton, Arkansas State Teachers College.

"The Significance of Population Trends in the Southwest," Robert C. Fite, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"The Pattern of Industrial Development in the Southwest," Harold Crevaling, University of Oklahoma.

"Possible Effects of Decentralization of Industry Upon the Southwest," Edward E. Keso, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

GOVERNMENT SECTION.....Room No. 1

Chairman: W. V. Holloway, University of Tulsa.

"The Origins and Purposes of Municipal Economic Regulations," J. Paul Duncan, University of Oklahoma.

"The Teacher of Government?" Ethan P. Allen, University of Kansas.

"Can We Educate for Peace?" Robert A. Walker, Kansas State College.

Discussion: Paul P. Young, Texas State College for Women.

HISTORY SECTION.....Room (See Directory)

Chairman: C. A. Davis, Vocational Adviser, United States Veterans Administration, San Antonio.

"The Richmond Negro in War Years," H. A. Trexler, Southern Methodist University.

"Adam Gurowski and the Civil War: A Radical's Record," Leroy H. Fisher, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"Reforms in the Penal Systems of the Old Southwest," E. Bruce Thompson, Baylor University.

Discussion: W. R. Davis, Stephen F. Austin College, W. J. Hammond, Texas Christian University, and Rosco Adkins, Arkansas University.

PSYCHOLOGY SECTION.....Room No. 6

Chairman: L. B. Hoisington, University of Oklahoma.

"Attitude Measurement Between the Bogardus Test of Social Distance and Scales Prepared by the Method of Equal-Appearing Intervals," Harold V. Bell, Southern Methodist University.

"A Study of the Vocational Interests of 150 Senior Women," Evelyn M. Carrington, Texas State College for Women.

"A Comparison of Bernreuter Personality Scores of Normal and Neurotic Men," Mary Frances Moss, Southern Methodist University.

SOCIOLOGY SECTION, "Social Theory".....Lounge Room

Chairman: Wyatt Marrs, Oklahoma University.

"Group Structure and Attitudes in the Oxford Group Movement," Allan W. Eister, Southern Methodist University.

Discussion: Walter I. Firey, University of Texas.

"Sociologically Established Family Norms and Democratic Values," William L. Kolb, Newcomb College, Tulane University.

Discussion: Hiram Friedsam, University of Texas.

"The Relation of Controversy to the Concept of Public Opinion," Harry E. Moore, University of Texas.

Discussion: Wendall Logan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

10:40 A.M. "ETHNIC AND CULTURAL MINORITIES"

Chairman: Ross Compton, North Texas State College.

"The Caste Concept as Applied to Minority Groups in the United States,"
Thelma Ackiss Perry, Langston University.

Discussion: Ethelyn Davis, Texas State College for Women.

"Do Facts Explode Myths?" Robert H. Talbert, Texas Christian University.

Discussion: W. J. Perry, Tillotson College.

"Assimilation: The Stumbling Block of Democracy," Sandor B. Kovacs,
Tulsa University.

Discussion: R. H. Bolyard, Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1:30 P.M.

ACCOUNTING, BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

SECTIONS (Joint).....Peacock Terrace

"New Post War Developments in the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration," Monroe S. Carroll, Baylor University.

Discussion on significance of Dr. Carroll's paper in terms of education in the Southwest.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION, (Marketing).....Room No. 3

Chairman: W. E. Paulson, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

"Trends and Needed Reform in Agricultural Marketing Research, Teaching and Extension," R. L. Hunt, Texas A. & M. College.

"Basic Economic Concepts as Applied to Marketing Including Cooperation," A. L. Larson, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"Significance of Consumer Preference Studies with Special Emphasis on Sweet Potatoes," J. M. Baker, Louisiana State University.

General Discussion: T. R. Hedges, University of Arkansas, Robert B. Halpin, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

SECTION (Joint Accounting).....Peacock Terrace

ECONOMICS SECTION, "Educational Policy".....Texas Room

Chairman: H. L. McCracken, Louisiana State University.

"Disciplinary Action Against Controlling Agencies of Educational Institutions," F. B. Clark, Texas A. & M. College.

Discussion: C. A. Wiley, University of Texas.

"Economic Research," Raymond D. Thomas, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"College Training and the Federal Service," Vernon G. Sorrell, University of New Mexico.

Discussion: Aldon S. Lang, Texas State College for Women.

GEOGRAPHY SECTION.....Room No. 2

"The Soil as Related to Health in the United States," G. W. Schlesselman, Texas A. & M. College.

"Interstate and Interregional Trade Barriers Affecting Regional Development," James H. Goode, North Texas State College.

"Italy, An Example of Geographic Limitations," Edwin J. Foscoe, Southern Methodist University.

"World Leadership by the United States," W. T. Chambers, Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College.

GOVERNMENT SECTION.....Room No. 1

Chairman: Stuart A. MacCorkle, University of Texas.

Roundtable Discussion: "Problems of Local Government in the Southwest," Estal E. Sparlin, Missouri Legislative Research Committee, John G. Stutz, League of Kansas Municipalities, H. V. Thornton, University of Oklahoma, Wilfred D. Webb, University of Texas.

Discussion: E. E. McAdams, League of Texas Municipalities.

Business meeting of Government Section.

HISTORY SECTION.....Room (See Directory)

Chairman: Jefferson Davis Bragg, Baylor University.

"A Report on 'The Western Civilization Project' at the University of Kansas," Walter Sandelius, University of Kansas.

"The Revolution in the Art of War 1941," Donald W. Mitchell, Sam Houston State Teachers College.

"The Relations of William II of Germany and Edward VII of England: A Study in International Relations," L. A. Storey, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

Discussion: J. L. Glanville, Southern Methodist University, and R. L. Jones, East Texas State Teachers College.

Business Session.

PSYCHOLOGY SECTION.....Room No. 6

Chairman: A. Q. Sartain, Southern Methodist University.

"Transfer in Human Maze Learning: Learning a Reversal of the Pattern as Opposed to Learning an Unrelated Maze," Jack Strange, Southern Methodist University.

"An Experimental Study of Recall," L. B. Hoisington, University of Oklahoma.

Business Meeting.

SOCIOLOGY SECTION, "Social Demography".....Lounge Room

Chairman: Daniel Russell, Texas A. & M. College.

"Redefinition of 'Standard of Living'," Otis D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussion from the floor.

"The Concept of Optimum in Population Studies," Carl Rosenquist, University of Texas.

Discussion from the floor.

"Neighboring in Dallas by Census Tracts," Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University.

Discussion from the floor.

2:05 P.M. "COMMITTEE ON TEACHING"

Chairman: Paul B. Foreman, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"The Pattern of Sociology and Instruction in the Southwest," Eugene S. Richards, Langston University.

Discussion.

"Needed Research in Negro-White Relations," Paul B. Foreman, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussion.

4:30 P.M. Annual Business Meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society.

3:05 P.M. SOCIOLOGY STUDENTS.....Room No. 4

FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 8 P.M.

GENERAL MEETING

Texas Room

Presiding: Cortez A. M. Ewing, First Vice-President.

"Social Science Faces the Atomic Age," W. E. Gettys, President.

"Some Regional Differentials in Social Security," James B. Marley,
Regional Director, Social Security Board, San Antonio.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 9 A.M.

ACCOUNTING SECTION.....Room No. 3

Chairman: E. A. Saliers, Louisiana State University.

"Methods of Instruction for First Year Accounting," J. T. Johnson,
Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

Discussion: W. D. Rich, Hardin-Simmons.

"Accounting and Industrial Morale," A. J. Penz, Louisiana State Uni-
versity.

Discussion: O. J. Curry, North Texas State College.

"Veterans and Educational Possibilities," W. P. Carr, Loyola University.

Discussion: J. A. White, University of Texas.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

SECTION, "Land Economics".....Room No. 434

Chairman: B. M. Gile, Louisiana State University.

"Regional Research as a Basis for Land Tenure Policies," Joseph
Ackerman, Farm Foundation, Chicago, Illinois.Discussion: C. O. Brannen, University of Arkansas, O. D. Duncan,
Oklahoma A. & M. College, Peter Nelson, Oklahoma A. & M. College."Improvement in Landlord-Tenant Relationships through Legislation,"
Joe R. Motheral, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station."Tenure Implications of Wartime Land Transfers," J. H. Southern,
Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA."Effects of Minerals and Oil on Land Use," L. A. Parcher, Oklahoma
A. & M. College.

General discussion.

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SECTION

"Helping the Students Select Their College Major," O. J. Curry, North
Texas State College.

General discussion.

ECONOMICS, GOVERNMENT SECTIONS

(Joint), "International Relations".....Peacock Terrace

Chairman: C. S. Potts, Southern Methodist University.

"The Relation of Military Training to Modern Scientific Warfare and
to Modern Society," Ward M. Morton, University of Arkansas.Discussion: Leslie L. Thomason, American Legion, Department of
Oklahoma."Post-War International Raw Commodity Control Schemes," Wendell
C. Gordon, University of Texas.

Discussion: R. B. Melton, University of Arkansas.

"Wartime Treatment of Neutrals by the United Nations," Royden J.
Dangerfield, University of Oklahoma.

Discussion: S. D. Myres, Jr., Southern Methodist University.

GEOGRAPHY SECTION

"Commercial Aviation in Texas," C. N. Sayen, Southern Methodist University.

"Glass Sand Deposits and Glass Manufacturing in the Southwest," V. W. Brockmann, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"Sericulture in Texas," W. C. Cleveland, North Texas State College.

"Ghost Lumber Towns," Clark I. Cross, Southern Methodist University.

"The Okinawa Gunto," John W. Morris, Southeastern State College, Oklahoma.

"Recent Activities in Venezuela's Petroleum Industry," George S. Corfield, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Roundtable Discussion: "Cultural Landscape Maladjustments—what Geographers Can Do," T. Taylor Broun, East Texas State Teachers College, Darthula Walker, West Texas State Teachers College, R. R. Griffin, University of Arkansas, Fred B. Kniffin, Louisiana State University.

GOVERNMENT SECTION (Joint Economics)

"International Relations".....Peacock Terrace

HISTORY SECTION

Chairman: R. Earl McClendon, Sam Houston State Teachers College.

"The Conservatism of Edward D. White, Jr.," G. W. McGinty, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

"Trouble on the Rio Grande, 1911-1915: Colquits' Pro-German Activities During the First World War," George P. Huckaby, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"An Appraisal of the Good Neighbor Policy During the Period 1943-1947," T. H. Reynolds, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussion: J. D. Bragg, Baylor University, Bertha Ann Reuter, Mary Hardin-Baylor College, and J. I. Cox, Newberry Library (Chicago).

PSYCHOLOGY SECTION

Chairman: L. B. Hoisington, University of Oklahoma.

"The Scholastic Success of College Freshmen in Relation to Scores on the Iowa High School Content Examination, the Cooperative Achievement Tests, and Certain Tests of General Mental Ability," A. Q. Sartain, Southern Methodist University.

"Is There a Psychological Factor in Pregnancy?" J. U. Yarborough, Southern Methodist University.

"Pedo-Lithic Map of the Plains Border States," C. J. Bollinger, University of Oklahoma.

SOCIOLOGY SECTION, "Social Disorganization"

Chairman: Alvin B. Good, Louisiana State Normal College.

"Distribution of Crime in Oklahoma," Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma.

Discussion: Charles Roberts, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"Contradictory Cultural Definitions and Personal Conflict," Doris B. Griscom, Newcomb College, Tulane University.

Discussion: Edward McDonagh, University of Oklahoma.

10:15 A.M. "Rural Sociology"

Chairman: Fred G. Watts, Oklahoma Baptist University.

"A Study of Rural-Urban Differences in Oklahoma," Robert T. Mac-Millan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussion from the floor.

"Rural Social Research Needs in Brazil," Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico State College.

Discussion from the floor.

SOCIOLOGY STUDENTS

DIRECTORS OF BUREAUS OF BUSINESS RESEARCH

Round table discussion of specific operating problems in Bureaus of Business Research, various directors of Bureaus of Business Research.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 12 O'CLOCK NOON

GENERAL BUSINESS LUNCHEON.....Room No. 1

Minutes of the General Business Meeting

April 5, 1947

The report of the Audit Committee, which is attached, was distributed, and the report was accepted in due order. The Committee on Amendments made the following report:

Dr. W. E. Gettys, President
The Southwestern Social Science Association

Dear Sir:

We, your Committee on Constitutional Amendments, have no changes to recommend.

J. M. Claunch
Chairman

This report was accepted. Dr. Gettys reported to the organization that he had not appointed an Endowment Committee because of his inability to secure anyone to serve as chairman but that he believed it was wise to continue that committee. Mr. C. J. Bollinger, chairman of the Institutional Membership Committee, reported that his committee has secured several new institutional members—six with an annual contribution of ten dollars per year, one with a twenty-five dollar contribution, and one with a twenty dollar contribution. In the absence of the chairman of memberships, the secretary reported that about one hundred new members had been secured since the drive began.

Dr. Rupert Richardson moved and his committee seconded the following report of the Committee on Resolutions which was adopted:

The effective work of the Southwestern Social Science Association is made possible through the untiring efforts of many persons. To attempt to name them all would be unsatisfactory. Your Committee on Resolutions recommends that a formal vote of thanks be extended to President W. E. Gettys for his wise leadership and faithful guidance during the year now ending; to Dr. Ruth A. Allen, Editor-in-Chief, for her scholarly work in editing the *Quarterly*; and to Dr. William Strauss for his faithful service as Secretary.

For planning the programs of this meeting, the Association is, furthermore, indebted to Dr. Aldon S. Lang, Program Chairman and the Chairman of the several sections that compose the Association.

Among the large number of members and others who contributed to making the meeting a success, the Association should thank in a special way Mr. Marley, Regional Director, Social Security, for his thought-provoking message brought to the evening session; Dr. Walter Watson, Chairman, and the other members of the Committee on Local Arrangements for their effective preparation for the meeting; the Press of Dallas for publicity given to the program; the Baker Hotel for the facilities afforded the Association in spite

of the heavy demands being made upon it by others at this season; and the Dallas Chamber of Commerce for supplying badges, typewriters, and clerical help.

Your Committee recommends, also, that the Association endorse the effort being made to have the Social Sciences included as a division in the proposed National Research Foundation, bills for the establishment of which are before the Congress of the United States; and that this Association lend its active support to the Social Science Research Council and the several National Social Science societies and associations in their activities in behalf of the inclusion of social science in the organization, functions, and finance of the Foundation.

Dallas, Texas

April 5, 1947

Rupert N. Richardson

J. L. Clark

J. L. Waller

Paul P. Young.

W. J. Hammond, chairman of the Committee on Cooperative Press, made the following report:

Dr. W. E. Gettys:

Cannot attend today. Committee on cooperative press reports: Time not opportune to establish new Southwest Press.

W. J. Hammond, Chairman.

The Committee on Dues made the following report:

This report is based on correspondence between the Chairman of the Committee on Dues, Dean Raymond D. Thomas, and the various committee members. This correspondence was examined by the undersigned committee members and the recommendations therefore make up the recommendations contained in this report.

The Committee makes the following four-point recommendations:

1. That dues of individual members be kept at \$3.00 per year.
2. That a schedule for institutional dues be adopted as follows:
 - (1) Institutions with enrollment under 1,000, \$10.00 per year.
 - (2) Institutions with enrollment between 1,000 and 5,000, \$25.00 per year.
 - (3) Institutions with enrollment over 5,000, \$50.00 per year.
3. That a membership fee for non-academic institutions, e.g., newspapers, publishers, foundations, etc., be \$25.00.
4. That membership dues for members of a student section, if one is established, be \$2.00.

Respectfully submitted,

S. B. McAlister

Monroe Carroll

Wiley Rich

Dr. Wooten moved to receive and adopt the report which was seconded by Mr. Rosenquist. Mr. Stutz moved to amend the report in such a way as to make the subscription price to libraries five dollars per year. His motion was seconded by Dean Caldwell. Dean Potts moved to amend the amendment to make all dues, whether individual or library, four dollars. Dean Potts' amendment was

accepted by Mr. Stutz. Mr. Glanville then moved to accept the original report except that part having to do with institutional dues.

At this point, points of order were made that there were too many motions before the house. It was agreed upon to clear the slate and to vote on various parts of the amendment separately. Part one was then voted upon favorably. Part two was passed after Dean Caldwell had moved that the scale of dues be a recommended scale and not a required scale. Part three was adopted with the same understanding. Part four of the report was laid aside for the time being.

The Committee on Student Participation moved and seconded the adoption of the following report which passed:

The special committee appointed to make a study "to determine a definite policy of the Association concerning students participating in the affairs and programs of the Association" offers the following recommendations:

1. That the Association make a concerted effort to encourage greater student interest in the professional purposes and objectives for which the Association is organized.
2. That the Association make provisions to establish a Junior Association for student membership with reduced dues.
3. That such junior organization not be broken down into separate sections but be maintained as a general social science group with officers elected from among its own members.
4. That members of the Junior Association be encouraged to organize programs and present papers at an annual meeting.
5. That these points not be construed to exclude students from full participation and membership in the Southwestern Social Science Association if they chose to pay the full membership dues.
6. That the president of the Southwestern Social Science Association appoint a committee consisting of one member from each section of the Association to take the responsibility to help the proposed Junior Association plan its program and make other necessary arrangements for the 1948 meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

John R. Bertrand, Chairman

Allen W. Eister

Resser B. Melton

Austin L. Porterfield

Mattie Lloyd Wooten

Item four of the report of The Committee on Dues was then brought up for consideration. Dr. C. M. Burrus moved to substitute one dollar for two dollars as the annual dues with the understanding that students not receive the *Quarterly*. Dean Caldwell then moved to amend Mr. Burrus' amendment by stating that students would pay no dues unless they wanted the *Quarterly*, in which case they would be asked to pay the three dollars. Mr. Burrus accepted this amendment and it was passed. The report of

the Committee on Dues as amended was then adopted by the meeting.

Miss Ruth Allen, Editor of the *Quarterly*, made a report which is attached.

Dr. Rosenquist moved to instruct the Executive Council to follow out the suggestions in Dr. Allen's report. This motion was seconded and passed.

The various sections reported the names and institutional connections of their section chairmen and associate editors.

Accounting: Chairman, B. F. Harrison, Oklahoma A. & M., Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Associate Editor, E. A. Saliers, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Agricultural Economics: Chairman, B. M. Gile, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Editor, A. C. Magee, Experiment Station, A. & M. College, College Station, Texas.

Business Administration: Chairman, P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Editor, Eli P. Cox, North Texas State College, Denton, Texas.

Economics: Chairman, Morris M. Blair, Oklahoma A. & M., Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Editor, Alton R. Hodgkins, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

History: Chairman, J. L. Glanville, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Editor, James Taylor, Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos, Texas.

Geography: Chairman, John S. Kyser, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana.

Editor, Carol Y. Mason, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Government: Chairman, Robert A. Walker, Institute of Citizenship, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas.

Editor, Estal E. Sparlin, Legislative Research Committee, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Psychology: Chairman, Merl E. Bonner, North Texas State Teachers College, Denton, Texas.

Editor, A. Q. Sartain, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Sociology: Chairman, A. L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas.

Editor, J. L. Charlton, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Dr. Stuart MacCorkle, chairman of the Nominating Committee, moved and the Committee seconded the nomination of the following officials. President, Cortez A. M. Ewing, Professor of Gov-

ernment, University of Oklahoma; Vice-President, Dean S. A. Caldwell, Louisiana State University; Second Vice-President, Dr. J. L. Glanville, Professor of History, Southern Methodist University.

The report of the Committee was adopted. Dr. Gettys turned the chair over to Dr. Ewing who entertained the motion that the meeting adjourn, which passed.

W. L. Strauss
Secretary-Treasurer

Auditor's Report

March 29, 1947

Dr. W. E. Gettys, President
The Southwestern Social Science Association
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. President:

In accordance with your request, the Audit Committee has audited the Association's records of cash received and disbursed. Receipts were verified by checking credit in the members' accounts against deposits. All disbursements were made by checks properly drawn and paid by the bank. The cash balance as of January 31, 1947, was confirmed by the depository bank. The membership list was not checked in detail, but test checks revealed that the list is accurately maintained.

As in the past no statement of assets is submitted, for the Association has no assets other than cash and unsold Quarterlies. The latter asset is carried at no stated value, all receipts from the sale of back numbers being considered income in the year in which the sales are made.

Attached is a statement of receipts and disbursements for the year ending January 31, 1947.

Yours very truly,
JOHN ARCH WHITE
Chairman of Audit Committee

Committee:

Miss Joy Adams, University of Texas
B. F. Harrison, Oklahoma A. & M. College
Robert S. See, Centenary College
John Arch White, University of Texas

SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements

For the Year Ending January 31, 1947

RECEIPTS:

Memberships:

Individual	\$ 704.00
Library	451.00
Institutional	180.00
Sale of Individual QUARTERLIES.....	33.50
Advertisement in QUARTERLY.....	15.00
TOTAL CASH RECEIVED.....	\$1,383.50

DISBURSEMENTS:**Publication Costs:**

March Number.....	\$256.50
June Number.....	405.50
September Number.....	297.40
December Number.....	292.60
Title Page, Vol. XXV.....	4.50
Postage Advance.....	9.75
Total Publication Cost.....	\$1,266.25
Postage	29.63
Office Supplies.....	14.01
Bank Charges.....	2.14
Stenographic Services.....	30.00
Expense of Secretary and Editor for spring meeting..	19.70
Hotel bill of two pilots of Mr. Reynolds, guest speaker at spring meeting.....	10.00
Printing program for spring meeting.....	39.75
Agents fees.....	6.51

TOTAL CASH DISBURSED.....

\$1,417.99

EXCESS OF DISBURSEMENTS OVER RECEIPTS....

34.49

ANALYSIS OF CASH BALANCE, JANUARY 31, 1947:

Cash Balance, January 31, 1946.....	\$477.27
Decrease in Cash for the year.....	34.49
Cash Balance, January 31, 1947.....	\$442.78